TL 18

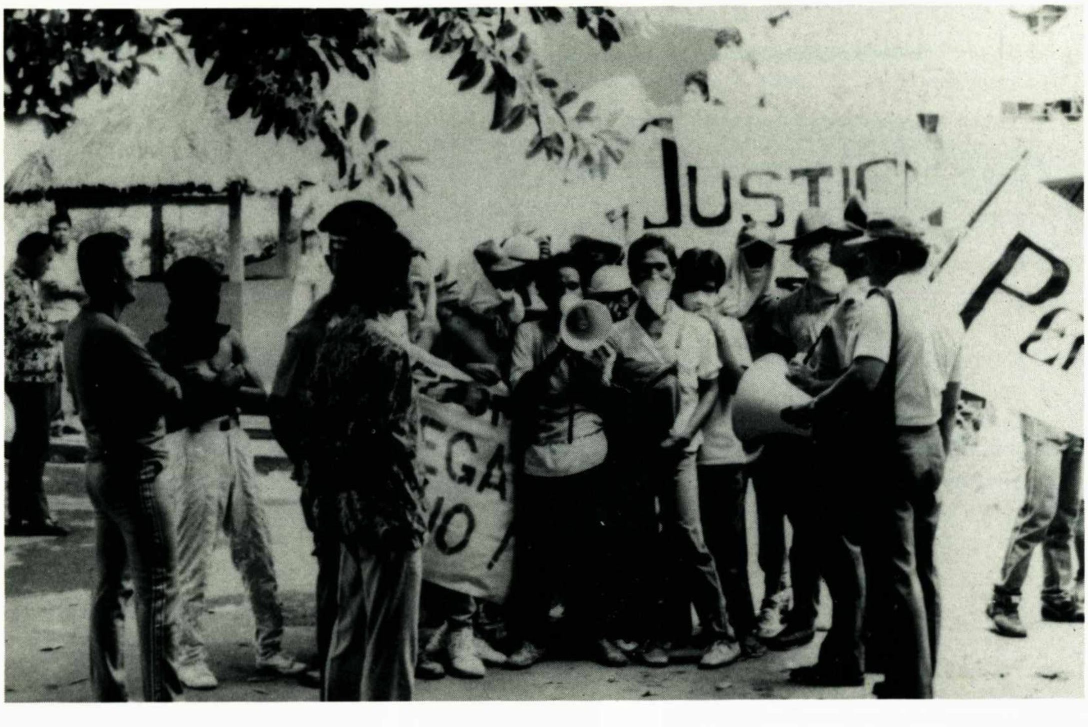
EAST TIMOR

REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

A REVIEW OF THE 15th YEAR OF INDONESIAN OCCUPATION

EAST TIMOR - Repression

and Resistance



A review of the 15th year of Indonesian occupation (1990)

Compiled and Edited by
A Paz é Possível em Timor-Leste
(Peace is Possible in East Timor)
Ecumenical Association
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TL 18

INTRODUCTION

Precise information on the actions of the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor has been hard to come by since the day in December 1975 when the parachutists were released over Dili at dawn. It has often taken months or even years to emerge. This was the case with a list sent in 1985 by Xanana Gusmao, the Resistance leader, of 1000 Timorese who had been executed.
As for pictures, they are almost non-existant.

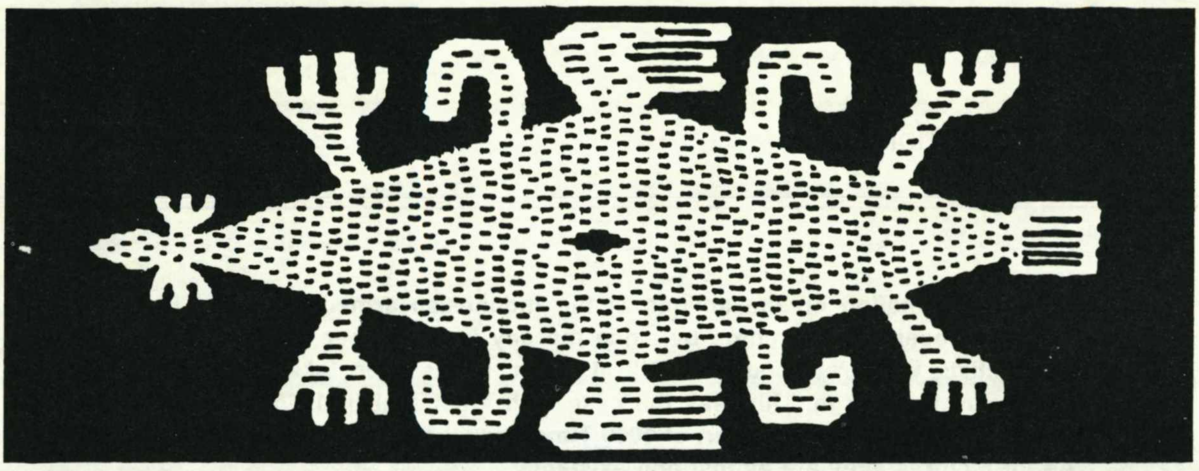
The number of deaths fully justifies speaking in terms of genocide when we take into account that out of the total population:
- 100,000 deaths have been acknowledged by the Indonesian authorities, who attribute them to the civil war which took place before the invasion. The Australian organization ACFOA (Australian Council For Overseas Aid) that was on the spot before the time of the invasion, has estimated the number of victims in that war as between 1,500 and 3,000.
- there were 200,000 deaths up until 1981, according to Amnesty International.
- documents from the local Catholic Church have given the figure as 300,000 *(letter from the members of religious orders in East Timor to the religious in Indonesia - 31/7/81, and document from Dili Diocese Presbytery Council - 1/1/85).*
Even if we accept the Amnesty International figure, 200,000 deaths represents one Timorese in three, which is a percentage greater than that in Pol Pot's Cambodia.

One third of the population wiped out, what does this mean in media terms, more and more dominated by television, if it cannot be translated into images? "If it is not televisable it doesn't exist" wrote the head of "Le Monde Diplomatique", Ignacio Ramonet (May 1991). It has been this lack of images, along with the priority which States give to economic and strategic issues, which has permitted Indonesia, in the face of almost total international indifference, to pursue its physical and cultural genocide of a people to whom the UN accords - in its own words - "the inalienable right to self-determination and independence" *(Security Council Resolution 384, 22 Dec. 1975).*

After 14 years of isolation, the territory has been partially opened up. The entry of some tourists and journalists has also allowed some fresh data to emerge. What we publish here does not constitute an exhaustive list of the violations carried out by the occupying power during 1990; the information which has emerged refers mainly to events in:
- Dili and nearby towns which are accessible to visitors,
- student circles who are in a better position to pass on information.

Although limited, the information here shows that the 15 years have not brought to its knees a people whom the Indonesian generals were confident would submit within 15 days!

Peace is possible in East Timor



The legend of the Crocodile

In Macassar, on the island of Célèbes, lived a crocodile. All of this happened even before the olden times. This old crocodile, as he did not have the speed of the fish in the river, had no other choice but to get up on his legs on dry land and set off for the interior, to see if he could catch a dog or maybe a pig take away his hunger.

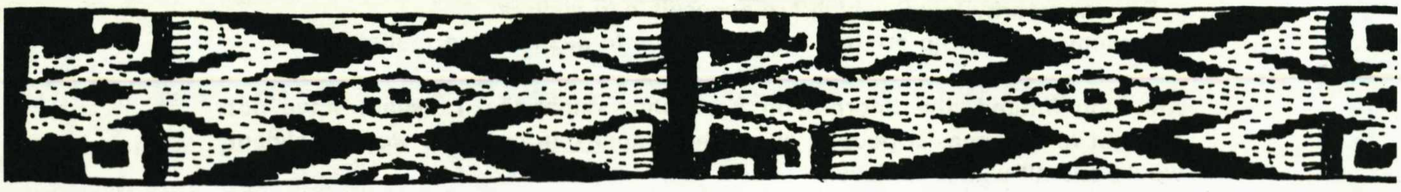
He walked, and walked, but did not see anything. He decided he would have to go back, but the way was long and the sun was burning down. Worn out, the crocodile knew that he had no more strength left and that there was nothing else for it but to stop and stay put like a stone. As luck would have it, a young boy arrived at that very moment. The lad, taking pity on his plight, helped him to drag himself as far as the river. The crocodile was extremely grateful, offered to carry him on his back through the waters of the rivers and the sea, from that day onwards.

One day, driven by hunger, with neither a dog nor a pig to keep him going, he decided he would have to eat the boy. Beforehand, however, to soothe his conscience, he consulted the other animals: should he eat the boy or not? From the whale to the monkey, each and every one of them drew himself up and accused him of ingratitude. Bowing to the general opinion, and believing that his presence there from now on would no longer be tolerated, the crocodile resolved to set off on the sea and to take the boy with him because, having conquered the temptation, he now felt a sort of paternal friendship towards him.

So he invited the boy to get up on his back. He swam onwards, through wave after wave, towards the end of the earth where the sun rises. He was convinced that he would find there a golden disk, the shape of the sun, his guide.

Finally, worn out from swimming, when he was thinking of turning round and going back to the land of his birth, to Macassar, he felt his body start to go immobile and quickly transform itself into earth and stone, growing, growing, until it reached the size of an island. Walking about on top of the island, the boy gazed all around him and called it Timor, which in the Malaysian language means East. At the same instant it became evident that he was no longer a young boy but a man, the very first to set foot on the land of Timor. Around his neck hung a golden disk, the exact same as the one the crocodile had been heading towards.

(the legend of Timor, recorded by Ruy Cinatti, a Portuguese anthropologist)



This legend, the drawings (pages 4, 13, 14, 18, 20, 28) and the pre-Indonesian invasion photographs (pages 6, 17) are extracts from the book: "Motivos artísticos timorenses e a sua integração" *(Museum of Ethnology, Lisbon).*
Photos of pages 2, 5, 12 by Jenny Groves; page 34 by Eric Forsberg; page 35 by Robert Domm.
Cover photo: David da Conceiçao (Aleong) confined in a tiny cell in Becora prison (Dili).

The New York Times

EAST TIMOR: THE SHAME ENDURES.

A European empire retrenches, leaving a distant dependency to fend for itself. The vulnerable enclave is then invaded and annexed by its powerful neighbour, a major oil exporter with a formidable army and a notorious human rights record.

Kuwait in 1990? Yes, but also East Timor in 1975. With a few honourable exceptions, the rest of the world winked at Indonesia's brazen aggression then. Worse still, the winking continues today.

Today marks the 15th anniversary of Indonesia's grab. How fitting it would be if President Bush used the occasion to condemn what America never should have condoned in the first place.

Portugal ruled East Timor for 450 years. Lisbon's 1974 revolution brought instant decolonization, and instant civil war in East Timor. Fretilin, the leftist contender, triumphed. On November 28, 1975, East Timor declared its independence; on December 7, Indonesia, the ruler of West Timor, invaded.

The invasion, which used U.S. supplied military equipment in violation of American law, came one day after President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger left Jakarta. Saigon had fallen to the North Vietnamese, and Washington was ready to accept Jakarta's claim that it acted to halt the Communist tide coursing through the region.

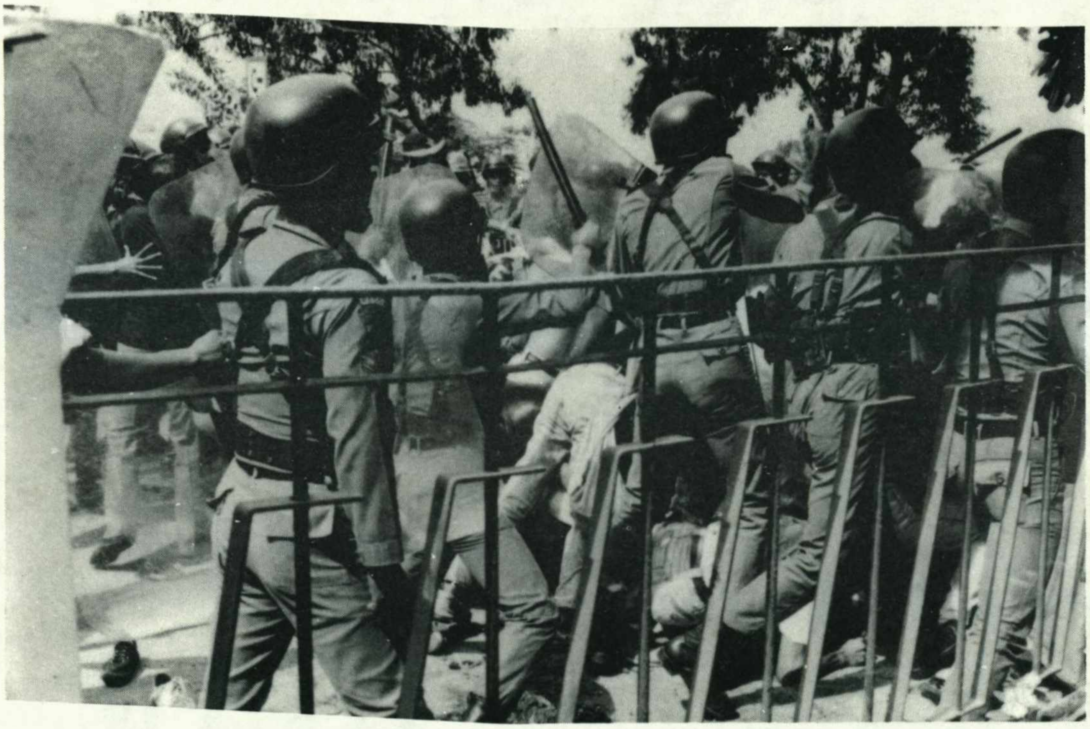
Between 100.000 and 200.000 Timorese died between 1974 and 1980, most at the hands of the Indonesian Army. One-seventh of the territory's population was annihilated, proportionately a steeper toll than that inflicted on Cambodia by Pol Pot. To hide its crimes, Jakarta sealed off East Timor from most foreign contact until last year.

Since 1982 a native Timorese Governor, Mario Carrascalão, has tried to soften official repression. But on a recent visit to the territory, The Times's Steven Erlanger found only limited gains. He reported that the principal city, Dili, "has the atmosphere of a police state" and that in the countryside, civilians have been killed for such offences as inattention during the raising of the Indonesian flag.

Earlier this year, after Indonesian police beat Timorese who had met with U.S. Ambassador John Monjo, the Ambassador registered his official concern. But Washington seems reluctant to take a stronger stand on the Timor issue for fear of antagonising Jakarta. Last month 223 U.S. representatives from both parties signed a letter asking the Bush Administration to use its influence to help ease repression and encourage peace talks.

For 15 years this aggression has stood. Even at this late date, President Bush could serve America's principles and honour by raising his voice.

(Editorial, 7/12/90)



Be silent
Mountains
Valleys and springs
Rivers and streams
Path-side stones
And grassy banks,
Be silent

Be silent
Birds in the air
And waves on the sea
Winds that blow
Over the beaches opening onto
Deserted land,
Be silent

Be silent
Cane, bamboo
Trees and "Ai-rus"
Palm and savanna
In the endless green
Of little Timor,
Be silent

Be silent
Let us be silent, we and you
FOR ONE MINUTE
A time of silence
In the silence of time
For the lifetimes
Of those who lost their lives
FOR THEIR HOMELAND
FOR THE NATION
FOR THE PEOPLE
FOR OUR LIBERATION
Be silent - ONE MINUTE OF SILENCE

Borja da Costa
(Timorese poet assassinated by the Indonesians)

THE TIMES SATURDAY APRIL 20 1991

TIMES PAST THE TIMES

WHAT ABOUT TIMOR?

Western leaders have spent the months since the Kuwait campaign claiming that small countries have thereby been rendered safer from aggression. Is this true? Until some recent failures to uphold international law against like aggression are remedied, the claim will be hollow. East Timor must head the list of such failures. While the world rightly hurries to the aid of the Kurds, the Timorese must suffer in silence.

The United Nations has a long history of double standards in policing the ailments of the world. In December 1975, Indonesian troops armed with British and American weapons invaded East Timor, a small country of some 700,000 people (smaller than Kuwait), occupying half an island to the east of Indonesia and just north of Australia. The invasion followed East Timor's liberation from five centuries of Portuguese colon-isation.

United Nations Security Council resolution 384, passed unanimously, called on Indonesia to withdraw its forces immediately and upheld the rights of the Timorese to self-determination. Between 1975 and 1982, the security council and the UN general assembly passed no fewer than ten similar resolutions. The last resolution turned the Timorese over to the UN secretary-general's good offices, which was in effect an admission of defeat.

Indonesia subdued the Timorese, a racially and culturally distinct people, in a ruthless war of oppression that continues today. By the Indonesian government's own admission, military operations and related famine had caused the deaths of 120,000 people by 1979, a higher mortality rate than Cambodia suffered under Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. The toll is now estimated at nearly 200,000. Survivors have been subjected to the worst excesses of a police state. To break guerrilla resistance, peasants were forced into "strategic hamlets". Night raids by death squads have supplemented widespread torture and summary executions.

Today, only a few hundred armed men seem to be resisting the Indonesians. Since 1989 the country, totally sealed off from the outside world for years, has been opened to tourism and foreign investment, although all foreigners are kept under surveillance. Yet more than 10,000 Indonesian troops are still deemed necessary to repress the Timorese and protect Indonesian colonisers. The governor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao, is a Timorese who has promoted economic development and fought corruption by the Indonesian army. Even he admits that detentions, beatings and killings continue. East Timor is a terrorised place, the majority of whose people long for the independence they thought the Portuguese gave them.

Portugal, legally recognised by the UN as the "administering power", has recovered from its post-colonial lethargy and has recently championed the Timorese right to self-determination. Lisbon has sought British support in vain. Congressional protests have fallen on deaf ears in the White House. The Vatican has been more interested in Indonesia's 20 million Catholic minority than in championing the largely Catholic Timorese. Australia, East Timor's neighbour, concluded a treaty with Indonesia last year to exploit oil reserves in East Timorese waters.

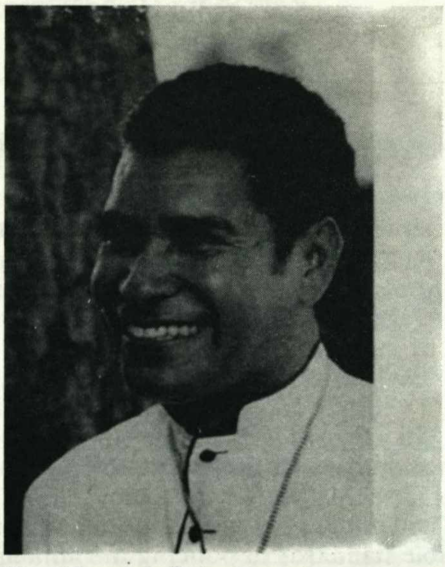
Next year Portugal will try to use its turn in the EC's rotating presidency to obtain solid support for East Timor. Britain should not wait to be invited. Indonesia may be a large market, but it has large debts. It needs Western (and Japanese) goodwill. Its refusal to recognise, even to discuss, Timorese rights is made possible by one factor, a complete lack of pressure from the outside world. American television networks do not clamour for entry. No heart-rending pictures stir Western emotions to righteous indignation.

Pressure on Indonesia should get the same UN support as pressure on Iraq did over Kuwait and now over the Kurds. That an outrage is 16 years old does not make it less of an outrage. Both military and economic sanctions would be perfectly in order. A referendum under UN supervision, to enable the Timorese to decide their own future, is overdue. If the new world order means anything, East Timor should return at once to the UN agenda.

1989

The Catholic bishop in Dili, the only Timorese whose international stature is such as to permit him to speak out openly without fear of violent reprisals to his person, wrote the UN Secretary-General on 6 February.

> **The process of decolonization ...**
>
> ... of Portuguese Timor has not yet been resolved by the United Nations, a fact that should not be forgotten. We, the people of Timor, believe that we should be consulted about the destiny of our homeland. That is why, as the one responsible for the Catholic Church, and as a citizen of Timor, I ask you through this letter to initiate in Timor a more normal and democratic process of decolonization that is achieved by means of a referendum.
>
> The people of Timor must be consulted about its future through a plebiscite. Up to now, the people have yet to be consulted. Others speak in the people's name. Indonesia declares that the people of Timor have already chosen integration, but the people of Timor have never said so. Portugal wishes that time will take care of this problem. Meanwhile, we are dying as a people and as a nation.



Mgr. Ximenes Belo

Around 300 Catholic bishops from various countries in the five continents have written letters of support for this appeal by Mgr Belo for a referendum.

The Pope's visit.

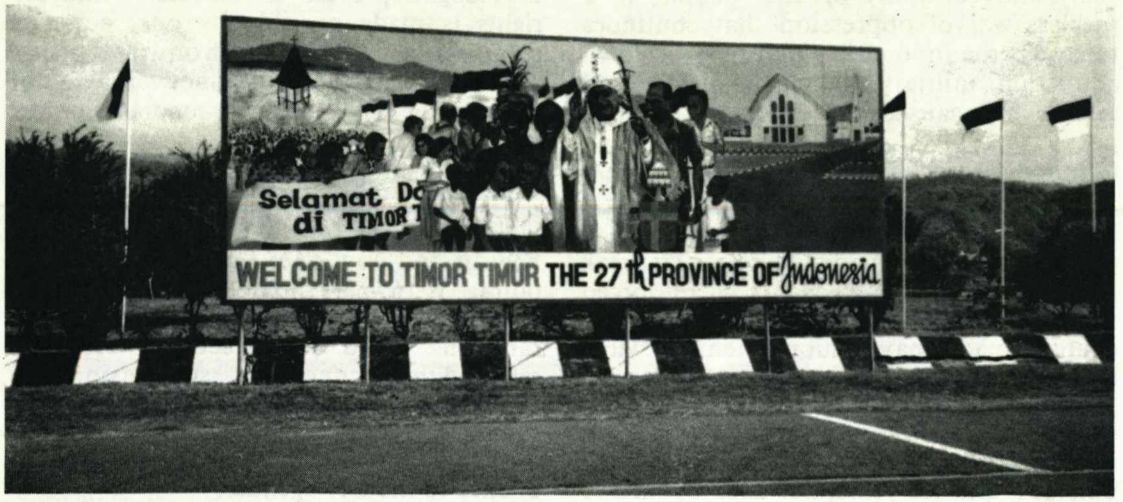
In October Pope John Paul II visited Indonesia and East Timor. In the capital of Indonesia the Pope declared:

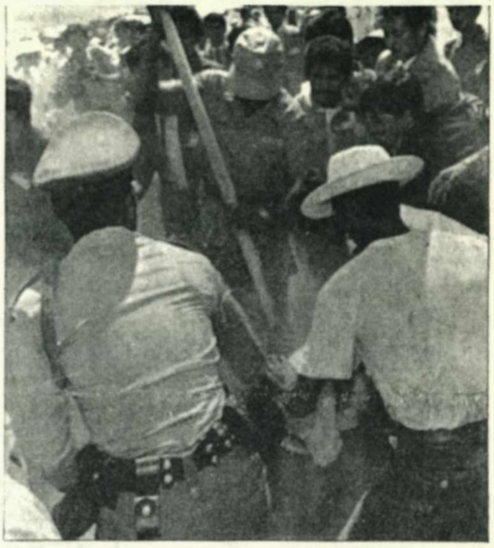
> **Sometimes nations are tempted ...**
>
> ... to scorn human values in a ruinous search for political unity based only on military or economic might. A unity acquired in such a way is very easily dissolved.

But in Timor where he only stayed long enough to say mass, everything had been perfectly arranged to give the impression that the Vatican "recognised" the "27th province" which had been annexed by force.

In spite of all this control a group of young people took it upon themselves to hold a demonstration at the end of the mass. After 14 years of isolation it was this image of protest that reached international opinion rather than the one the Indonesian government had so carefully prepared.

The repression was immediate. One of the young protesters, who some time later was able to leave the territory, testified before the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva.





Immediately after the Pope had left...

... the repression came down upon us. There were numerous imprisonments: two of my friends, Jacob Xavier and Virgilio Costa, were detained at Senopati III, a commando barracks, and were tortured on the orders of Colonel Bimo, operational chief of the Secret Service at the time. I escaped this fate by hiding for some nights in the woods near Dili. But knowing that the military had threatened to take my family hostage, I sought refuge in the Catholic Bishop's residence on 26 October.

There were about 38 young people there already. The military commander, General Mulyadi; the head of the Secret Service, Col Bimo; the Civil Governor and the Vice-Governor - all Indonesians except for the Civil Governor - tried to make us come out, but the Bishop, Monsignor Belo, took the responsibility upon himself for our protection.

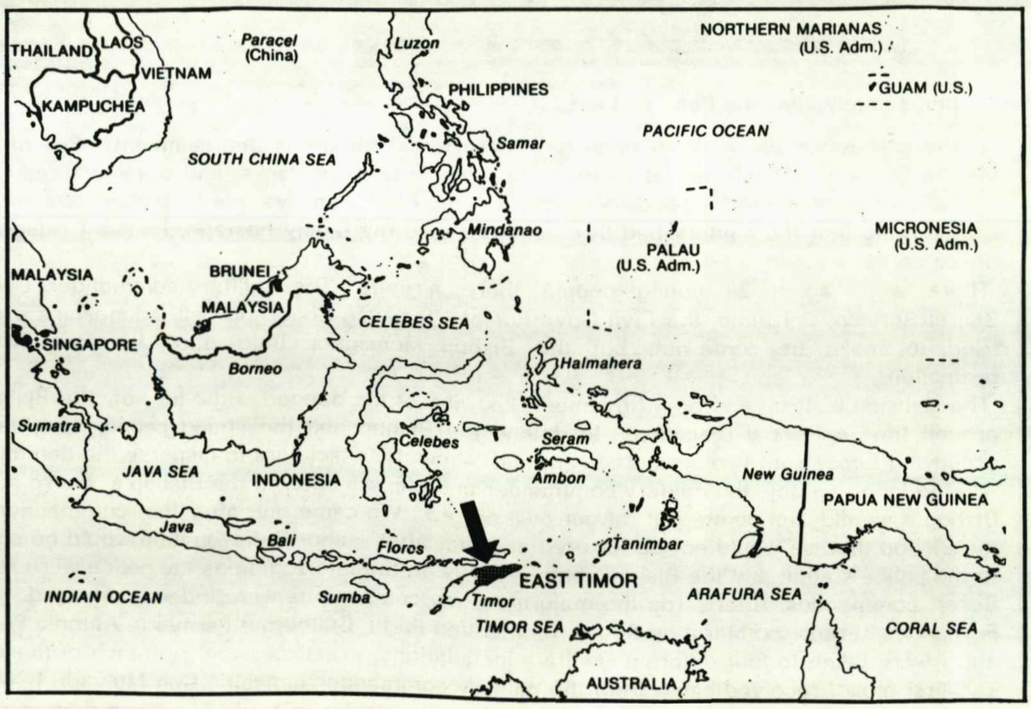
The tension built up and on 4 November, knowing of the danger to the life of the Bishop, the people came together around the episcopal residence to defend the Bishop and the young people who were taking refuge there. The occupying forces sent two armoured cars and about 1,500 soldiers to disperse the demonstrators.

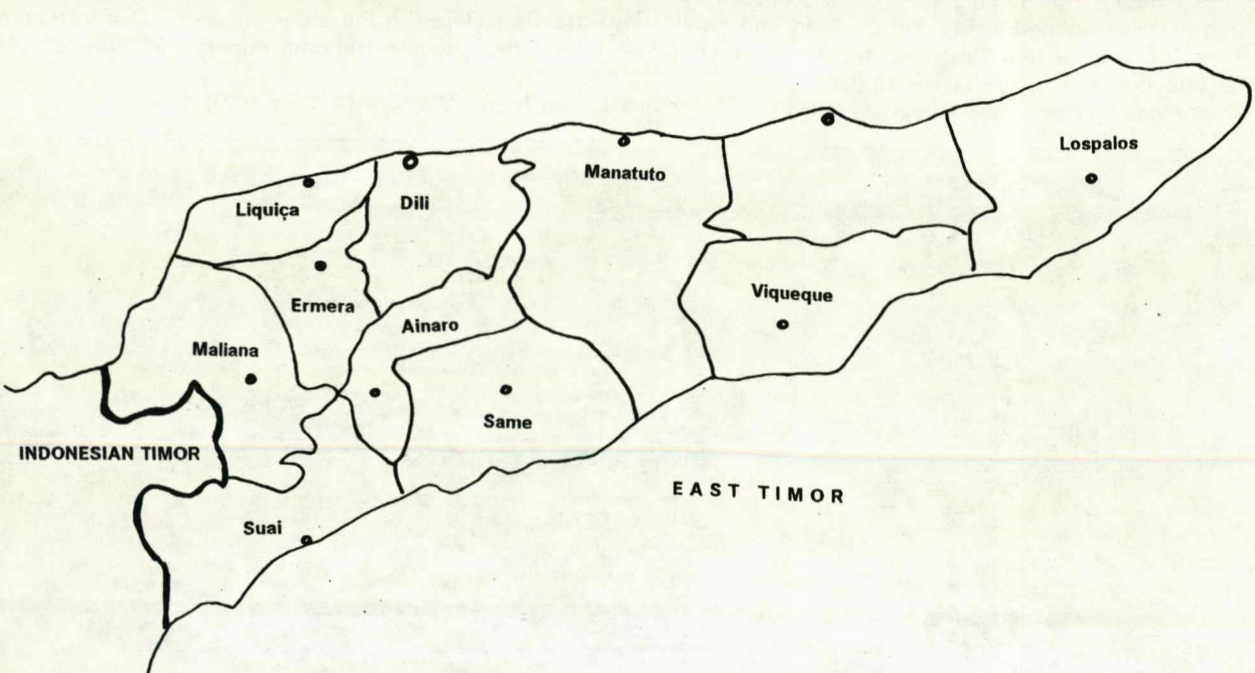
On the following day, the military commander and officers entered the Bishop's house and threatened to take away the Bishop if we did not come out of our own accord. We came out, after the commander had promised us in front of the Bishop that we would not be tortured and that after a short interrogation would be set free. We were taken by bus to the police station and the Bishop came with us. In the interrogations the police were replaced by soldiers of the "Red Beret" commandos. Afterwards the majority of my companions were indeed released as promised, but José Manuel Fernandes, Francisco Maria de Sousa, Clementino Faria, Guilherme Permeira, António Pereira Lopes, Lourenço Pereira and I were taken to four different military installations in succession. In each of these locations we were tortured. The first blow I received came from the military commander himself: Gen Mulyadi. I was tortured by Col Naingolan and other military from Intelligence: burns from cigarettes, electric shocks, a dagger stuck in my back, blows to the head, gun muzzles pointed at my chest, head and mouth. My friends suffered in the same manner. Our tormentors wanted us to accuse the Timorese priests of having instigated the demonstrations during the Pope's visit. The interrogations and torture lasted 15 days.

(Testimony by Donaciano Gomes before the UN Commission on Human Rights - Geneva 1991)

INDONESIA:
1 900 000 km2
170 000 000 inhabitants
former Dutch colony,
independent since 1949.
predominant religion: Islam
Republic: President - General Soeharto
(since 1968).

EAST TIMOR:
19 000 km2
650 000 inhabitants
former Portuguese colony,
decolonisation interrupted.
predominant religion: Catholicism.


THAILAND
LAOS
Paracel
(China)
Luzon
NORTHERN MARIANAS
(U.S. Adm.)
VIETNAM
GUAM (U.S.)
KAMPUCHEA
PHILIPPINES
PACIFIC OCEAN
Samar
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Mindanao
MICRONESIA
(U.S. Adm.)
PALAU
(U.S. Adm.)
MALAYSIA
BRUNEI
MALAYSIA
CELEBES SEA
SINGAPORE
Halmahera
Borneo
Sumatra
Celebes
Seram
Ambon
JAVA SEA
INDONESIA
New Guinea
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
Java
Bali
Floros
Tanimbar
EAST TIMOR
INDIAN OCEAN
Sumba
Timor
ARAFURA SEA
TIMOR SEA
CORAL SEA
AUSTRALIA


Lospalos
Manatuto
Dili
Liquiça
Ermera
Viqueque
Ainaro
Maliana
Same
INDONESIAN TIMOR
EAST TIMOR
Suai

1990

January

Captured members of the armed resistance and their families detained and ill-treated:

Day, Town (District)

?, in Baucau (Baucau)
- 60 prisoners
  tortured by Indon.A.F.

?, in Dili (Dili)
- OLEGARIO 50 years old
  male nurse, tortured and
  disappeared after questioning by Indon.A.F.
- ANTONIO 17 years old
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- LOI OLO 45 years old
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- PEDRO
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- BUI LAI
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- BASI LAI
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- CELINA JERONIMO fem.
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- SATURNINA ALVES SILVA fem.
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- BAI META 48 years old
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- MARTINHO DOS SANTOS 46 years old
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- LUISA fem. 45 years old
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- JUSTINA MONIZ fem. 25 years old
  tortured and raped by Indon.A.F.
- JOAO CANCIO BELO 30 years old
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- JOSE PINTO 42 years old
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- ADELINO 23 years old
  tortured and killed by Indon.A.F.
- LOURENÇO 28 years old
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- BEREN TIMOR 25 years old
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- NAHAFAEK
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- VICENTE XIMENES
  disappeared after questioning by Indon.A.F.

A group of resistance members; Celina Jeronimo is crouched centre with her child

The students arrested after the Pope's visit were still held prisoner in the premises of the Indonesian special forces in Dili and were only released in February.

01, in Dili (=)
- JOSE MANUEL S.FERNANDES 24 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- LOURENÇO PEREIRA
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- ANTONIO PEREIRA LOPES 23 years old
  student, tortured
- GUILHERME PEREIRA 26 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- CLEMENTINO FARIA 24 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- FRANCISCO MARIA SOUSA 25 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- DONACIANO R.COSTA GOMES
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.

01, in Fuiloro (Lospalos)
- SEMEAO DA SILVA 27 years old
  killed by Bat.412

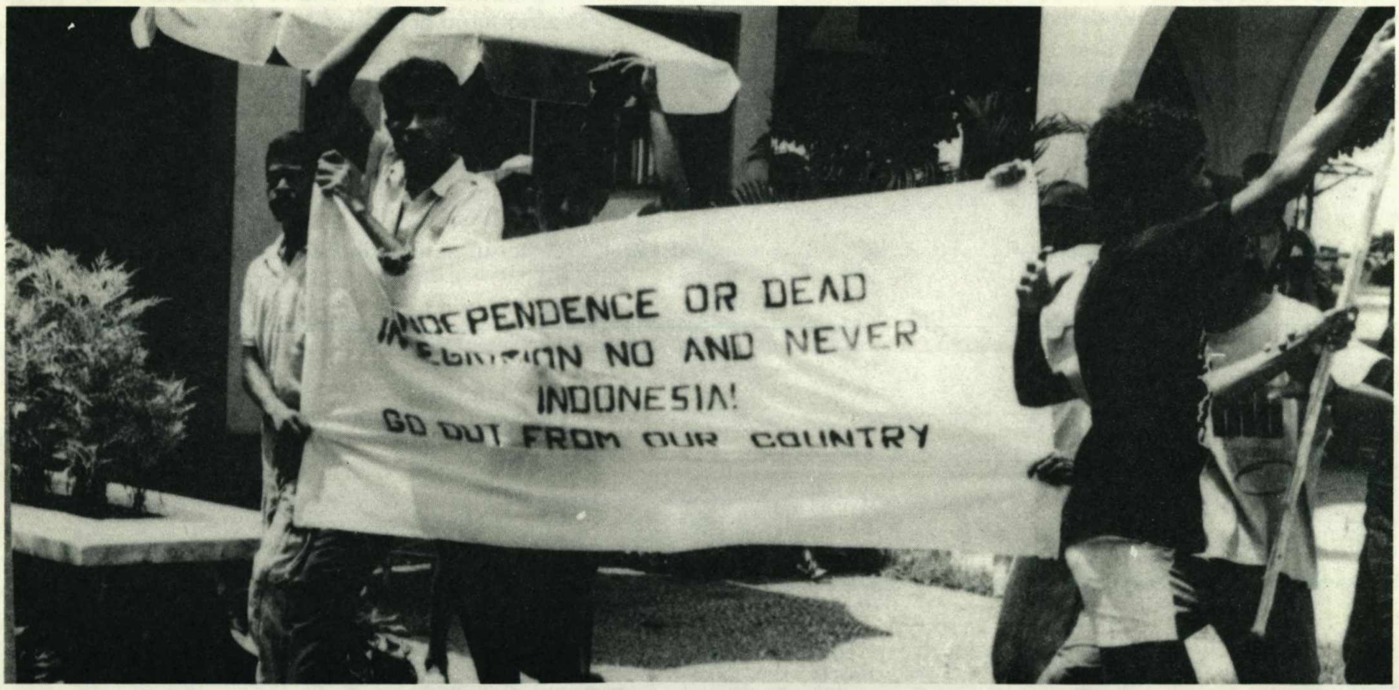
03, in Dili (=)
- TIAGO MARTINS
  driver, detained
- EGIDIO SALDANHA
  employed, detained
- ALVARO ROSARIO VASCONCELOS
  local government official, tortured

On 17 January, the US Ambassador to Jakarta, John Monjo, visited Dili, capital of East Timor, to look into the persecution in the wake of the Pope's visit:

Some hundreds of young people...

... demonstrated in front of John Monjo, the North American Ambassador. Major Heri took me from my cell and brought me to where the demonstration was taking place so that I would appeal to the demonstrators to go back to their homes. I refused, responding that they were doing precisely what I myself had done. One of the demonstrators, Julião Mau-Siri, was taken a way by Col Gatot, Col Bimo's successor as head of the Secret Service, who later showed me my companion with his head bloodied and bayonet marks on his back, but I did not give in. They then threatened to finish us off. Major Heri also insisted that I should identify the demonstrators I had seen.

(Donaciano Gomes - Geneva, Feb 91)



A document handed to the US ambassador appeals:

Dear Mr Ambassador...

... we ask you to be our intermediary to your government and to the US Senate to bring about our liberation from Javanese colonialism.

We would also like you to be our ambassador in the international arena and principally at the UN to support our struggle for the liberation of our country.

As a super power, America can see to it that Indonesia engages in dialogue to bring a lasting peace to East Timor, such has been called for by the Commander-in-chief of Falintil, Xanana Gusmao, and thus to arrive at a solution to our problem, given that such a resolution can only be achieved by a political solution and not by force of arms. We do not wish to suffer more. We anxiously await an international intervention for a peaceful solution in Timor, one which would recognize our fundamental right to be a free and independent people like the other peoples of the world.

When the ambassador interrupted the dialogue to go to be received by the Governor, violent repression was unleashed on the peaceful demonstrators. The ambassador later protested and visited some of the injured in hospital. The Indonesian authorities were obliged to hold back and to allow demonstrations to take place and these augmented rapidly over the following days. After the departure of the US representative the repression resumed.

17, in Dili (=)

- ANATALINO BELTRAO COSTA 21 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- JULIAO MAU SIRI 23 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- NUNO CORVELO 29 years old
  employed, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- DAVID CONCEIÇAO (Aleong) 24 years old
  student, tortured by Kodim
- PEDRO COSTA LELAN 23 years old
  employed, tortured by Kodim
- PAULO MONTEIRO BABO
  teacher, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- PAULO ROSSI 23 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- AGOSTINHO PEREIRA MARTINS 21 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.

18, in Dili (=)

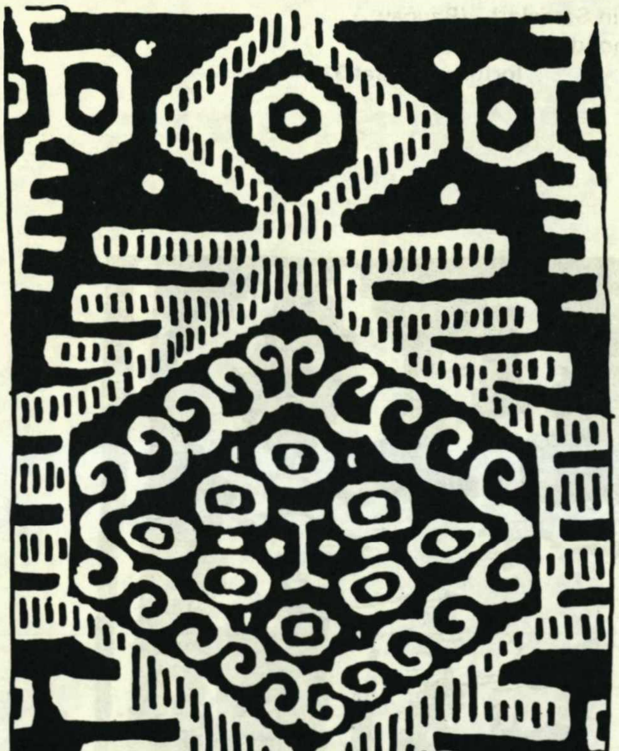
- FERNANDO COSTA 27 years old
  student,disappeared after questioning by Kodim
- ANTONIO LEMOS 24 years old
  student,disappeared after questioning by Kodim

February

On 3 February the Indonesian Minister, Benny Moerdani, made a trip to Dili. Speaking before a group of Timorese authorities, traditional leaders and local government officials, he threatened:

In the past...

> ...there were some small states that wanted to stand on their own and, without hesitation, the Indonesian government took steps to stop that. All the forces at our disposal were used to prevent the creation of small states. And this also applies to Timtim *(East Timor)*(...)
>
> Don't proclaim "I am a Timtim patriot". There is no such thing as a Timtim patriot, there is only an Indonesian patriot. (...)
>
> I have already said, if you try to make your own state and the movement is strong, sufficiently strong, it will be crushed by ABRI *(Indonesian armed forces)*. ABRI may fail the first time, so it will try for a second time, and for a third time. (...) We will crush them all! I repeat, we will crush them all! (...)
>
> What have you achieved by demonstrating in front of the Pope, demonstrating in front of the American ambassador? Nothing! So, don't start imagining things, don't start dreaming. Creating issues will only cause unrest in this region.
>
> *(Excerpts from a transcription of the tape with the speech; translated into English by TAPOL)*



General B. Moerdani

?, in Fuat (Lospalos)
- MARIA REIS fem. 30 years old
  killed by Bat.745
- MAU RESI 24 years old
  killed by Bat.745
- JOSE JERONIMO 40 years old
  killed by Bat.745
- JOAO SOUSA 42 years old
  killed by Bat.745
- TERESA JERONIMO fem. 48 years old
  killed by Bat.745

?, in Poros (Lospalos)
- OLINDA JERONIMO fem. 34 years old
  killed by Bat.412

?, in Dili (=)
- ANTONIO LAI
  student,disappeared after questioning by Intel.
- JOSE CESAR SILVA (AZITO)
  student,disappeared after questioning by Intel.

José Cesar Silva

Pursued by the military after the Pope's visit, he took refuge at the bishop's house. He was arrested in February at the same time as Antonio Lai.

José Cesar Silva and Antonio Lai were held at Comarca prison in Dili. They were then taken away by military commandos one night in February. Since that time they have been missing.

08, in Loré II (Lospalos)
- AZITO ROCHA 34 years old
  killed by Bat.412

March

?, in Lospalos (=)
- OLINDA MORAIS fem.
tortured and raped by Indon.A.F.

Olinda Morais and her second child.

?, in Bahari (Baucau)
- FELISMINO
detained
- ANTONIO AMARAL
detained

?, in Bruma (Baucau)
- CANCIO PEREIRA
detained

?, in Samalari (Baucau)
- SATURNINO XIMENES
detained
- ALCINO XIMENES
detained

A mother asks for her child

Olinda Morais is the wife of a commander in the Timorese resistance. She spent 14 years in the zones controlled by the resistance. The bombardments became so frequent that on 24 April 1988 they decided to entrust their 2 year old child Benuindo to the protection of relatives living in Lospalos, a town controlled by the Indonesian military.

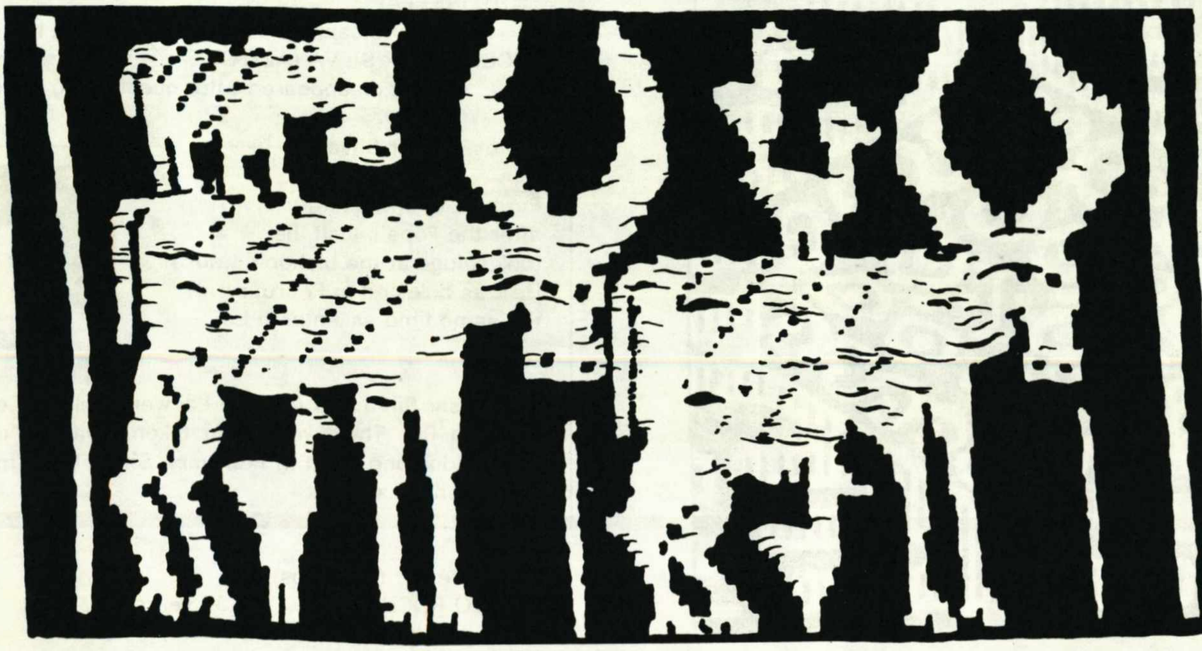
On 29 March 1990 Olinda was captured with her second child whose first birthday had been the previous day. She was taken to Dili where she was tortured and raped in Colmera prison. On her release she returned to Lospalos. She wanted to see her son Benuindo, but he had been taken away by Lt-Col Suryadi, commander of the 745 Batallion in Lospalos and who is today a senior member of the staff in the Intelligence bureau in Denpasar, on the island of Bali.

Efforts by Olinda to see her son again were in vain. Colonel Gatot, head of the Intelligence Service in Dili, told her that her son was well and that her insistance could only prejudice the situation. The child is now five years old and his mother has appealed to international organizations to intervene to bring about his return.

?, in Trilolo (Baucau)
- CHICO SIMOES
detained

14, in Gariwai (Baucau)
- no/ident.-info. Fretilin
tortured and killed by Bat.315
- no/ident.-info. Fretilin
tortured and killed by Bat.315

21, in Samalari (Baucau)
- no/ident.-info. Fretilin
tortured by Bat.315



26. in Lalerek Mutin (Viqueque)
- JOAQUIM SARMENTO 42 years old
  tortured by Spec. A.F.
- ANTERO CARVALHO 50 years old
  tortured by Spec. A.F.
- SEBASTIAO REIS
  tortured by Spec. A.F.

29. in Lalerek Mutin (Viqueque)
- CANDIDO AMARAL DA SILVA 39 years old
  tortured and killed by Spec. A.F.

Candido Amaral da Silva

Peasant
39 years old
Husband of Luisa Amaral
Father of 5 children
resident of Lalerek Mutin
near Luca (Viqueque)

Lalerek Mutin is a strategic village created in 1983 to resettle the remainder of the population of the strategic village of Craras, who had themselves mainly come from Bibileu.

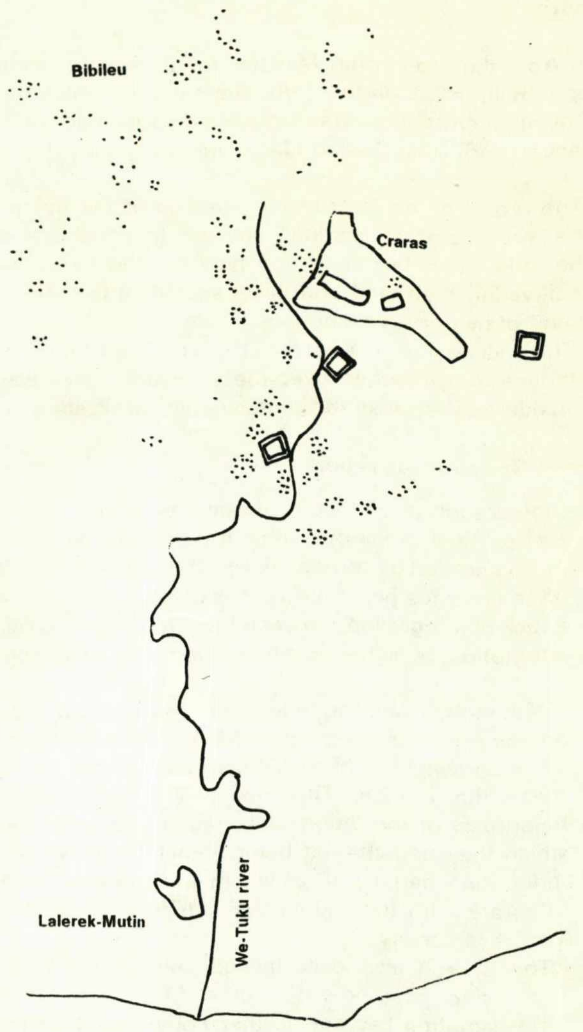
From March to August 1983 there was a cease-fire and talks between Col Purwanto, commander of the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor, and Xanana Gusmao, leader of the Timorese resistance. Xanana had accepted the talks on condition that the UN be informed of their taking place and had presented his demands for self-determination of the territory. The Jakarta government did not in fact inform the UN; Col Purwanto was replaced and Gen Benny Moerdani, launched his ultimatum: "surrender or die".

The militia in Craras, which had been created by the Indonesian army to fight against the resistance, massacred 16 Indonesian soldiers and went to join the guerrillas. In reprisal the Indonesian troops massacred the population of the camp: causing 1278 deaths and 56 disappearances according to the testimony of a priest.

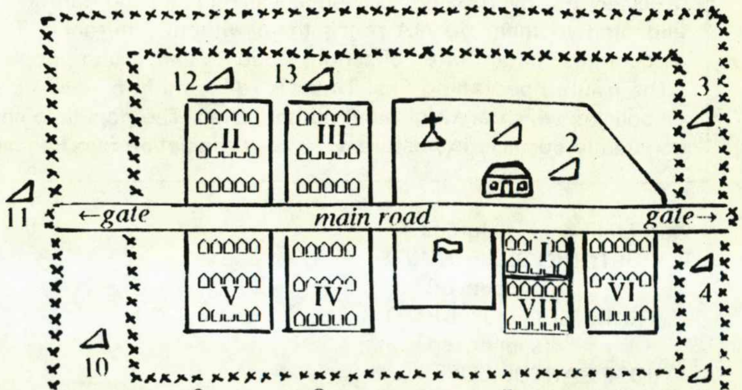
The remaining inhabitants who included 46 widowers, 122 widows and 276 orphans, were sent to Lalerek Mutin. In 1990, seven years after the creation of the camp, it had 1552 inhabitants who included 30 widowers and 191 widows. Harsh treatment continued and the men were obliged to stand guard unarmed, around the camp by night.

In March some members of the Indonesian Red Berets had been harrassing some young women whose husbands were with the guerrillas. To put pressure on the women they accused them of having received visits from their husbands during the night. They tried to get others to accuse the women and to this end they tortured Joaquim Sarmento, Antero Carvalho and Sebastiao Reis. On the 29 March at 11 pm they took Candido Amaral from his post where he stood guard. When he refused to accuse the camp chief, Candido was taken outside the camp tied to a palmtree and shot dead at 5.00 in the morning.

The commander of the Red Berets at Viqueque offered two sacks of rice to the widow to gain her silence and stated in his report that the men tortured had been in contact with the resistance and that Candido Amaral had been shot because he was trying to run away.



A scattered population in Bibileu, concentrated in Crarás, then in Lalerek Mutin.
☐ *Sites of large scale mass killings.*



The strategic village at Lalerek Mutin:
xxxx - barbed wire fences
***I** to **VII** - Kampung (village units)*
***1** and **2** - guard houses*
***3** to **13** - guard posts.*

The International Red Cross announced that it had visited six detention centre between January and March. It listed 82 prisoners for reasons of security.

April

In April the Indonesian Minister for Defence cancelled a seminar entitled "Development in East Timor" which was to have been held in Dili on the 19th. The seminar, which had been organized by the Central Bank of Indonesia and the East Timor Development Office, was scheduled to include an analysis of the results of a study carried out by a team of Indonesian researchers from Gadjah Mada University (Java).

The report noted **"a growing rejection of the Indonesian presence"** and referred not only to **"heavy human losses"** during the **"process of integration"**, but also to a **"cultural shock"** on the part of the population who were suddenly obliged to learn the Indonesian language and history; who faced forced resettlements and strategic villages which prevented them from **"cultivating their land and living according to their own customs"**; and also suffered from what they referred to as **"an overdose"** of military presence.

The Indonesian academics' report states that **"even among the Timorese elite"** *(those who had collaborated with the Indonesian authorities over the 15 years)* **there was a sense of hatred, because they** *(the Indonesian Armed Forces)* **are considered the cause of the economic paralization of East Timor"**.

Gadjah Mada report

Integration has brought physical progress, but it has also claimed many lives, and has given rise to social, economic and political problems which have yet to be overcome. The East Timor regional government, whose key agencies are mostly staffed by newcomers to the region, has difficulty understanding the East Timorese way of life. (...) A cultural gap often emerges between the newcomers officials - both civil and military - and the local population, and there is, in turn, a lack of integration between the two. This cultural gap gives rise to stereotyping, (which) along the harsh experience of integration, is highly disadvantageous to achieving the aim of integration. (...)

With integration, the Indonesian government regarded the issue of East Timorese decolonization as closed. However, it appears that for the people of East Timor this was not the case.

The combination of a distinctive historical background and a swift process of integration accompanied by civil war, meant that the East Timorese people had no opportunity to reflect on the new situation which they were facing, that of being part of the Indonesian nation. Suddenly they had to learn Bahasa Indonesia and Indonesian history, neither of which they had studied before. East Timorese school students had to learn the Pancasila and memorise the names of Indonesian heroes, all of whom were absent from their own history. Suddenly also the East Timorese had to live and integrate with the Indonesian administrative structure. All these factors led to a cultural shock in all strata of East Timorese society.

The Church also experienced culture shock. Suddenly they had to face a new power (...) and to submit to the Indonesian government's 'rules of the game' which, after integration, subordinated the Church to the government. (...)

The situation became further complicated as the process of integration took East Timor into a prolonged "war situation". This caused trauma both in the East Timorese community and amongst government agencies in the province, particularly the security services. This was especially so when the protracted war situation led to excesses in the form of violations by the security forces of the human rights of the East Timorese population. (...)

It is felt that the role of the armed forces (ABRI) in the province has reached "overdose" proportions. This "overdosing" is not just in the number of personnel, but more so in the army's role in development in East Timor. (...) It is precisely its "overdosing" presence which is causing unrest. The people will lack respect for the government if the funds allocated to them do not reach them without hindrance. There is a strong shift from the military "rebellion" to civil discontent. The attitudes of school students and young people in the bureaucracy are a clear indication of this. (...)

The trauma pervading East Timor is reflected in people's behaviour. Government administrators manifest it in actions or policies which are rigid and authoritarian. The populace show it in uncooperative and apathetic attitudes, as well as a constantly suspicious posture. *(translation into English: 'Indonesia News Service' nº278-279)*

?, in Maubara (Liquiça)
- CUSTODIO SILVA NUNES
  disappeared
- FRANCISCO DO CARMO
  disappeared
- JOSE SANTOS LOPES
  disappeared
- FELIX DA COSTA
  disappeared

?, in Poros (Lospalos)
- CRISTINA MADEIRA fem. 30 years old
  killed by Bat. 412

?, in Taibessi (Dili)
- JOSE PINTO RIBEIRO MONIZ
  disappeared after questioning by Indon.A.F.

01, in Oessoli (Baucau)
- ACOTO CAMAR 16 years old
  armed resistance, detained
- no/ident.-info. Fretilin
  armed resistance, detained

20, in Fatudo (Viqueque)
- FRANCISCO CESALTINO 20 years old
  farmer, killed by Bat.408

26, in Denpasar (Indonesia)
- FERNANDO TRINDADE 17 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- MARIO TRINDADE 22 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- FELISBERTO MASCARENHAS 23 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.

May

?, in Ainaro (=)
- no/ident.-info.N.Y.Times
  killed
- no/ident.-info.N.Y.Times
  killed

?, in Dili (=)
- LEO
  student,disappeared after questioning by Kodim
- FREDERICO MAGNO SARMENTO 38 years old
  detained

01, in Buikarin (Viqueque)
- BEATRIZ fem. teenager
  raped by Bat.509
- FRANCISCA fem. teenager
  raped by Bat.509
- CRISTINA fem. teenager
  raped by Bat.509

01, in Viqueque (=)
- PAULO SILVA 24 years old
  armed resistance, tortured and killed by Bat.408

06, in Buikarin (Viqueque)
- HAVE NAHAK fem. teenager
  raped by Bat.509

06, in Muapitini (Lospalos)
- CRISTOVAO PEREIRA 34 years old
  killed by Bat. 745

10, in Buikarin (Viqueque)
- ILDA fem. teenager
  raped by Bat.509
- ABU NAHAK fem. teenager
  raped by Bat.509

12, in Dili (=)
- JOSE MARIA JERONIMO
  detained

13, in Samalari (Baucau)
- non/ident.-info. Fretilin
  killed by Bat.315
- non/ident.-info. Fretilin
  killed by Bat.315

15, in Loré II (Lospalos)
- CLEMENTE MIRANDA 24 years old
  killed by Spec. A.F.

19, in Dili (=)
- NUNO CORVELO 29 years old
  employed, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- JOSE MANUEL FERNANDES 25 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.

24, in Fuiloro (Lospalos)
- MARTINHO DA COSTA 30 years old
  killed by Bat.745

24, in Loré I (Lospalos)
- JACINTO DA CUNHA 40 years old
  killed by Bat. 745

31, in Dili (=)
- HERMENEGILDO FS.CONCEIÇAO (a)
  tortured by Bat.315

31, in Lequimeta (Viqueque)
- RAUL DA SILVA 21 years old
  killed
- AFONSO DA SILVA 23 years old
  killed

(a)

June

?, in ? (   )
- 16 no/ident.-info.N.Y.Times
  killed by Indon.A.F.
- no/ident.-info. Fretilin
  killed by Indon.A.F.

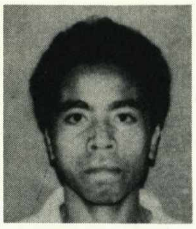
04, in Dili (=)
- ALEIXO DA SILVA GAMA 23 years old
  student, tortured

05, in Baucau (=)
- AGOSTINHA F. COSTA SILVA fem.
  killed by Komando K
- MARIA XIMENES fem.
  killed by Komando K
- JOSE DA COSTA
  killed by Komando K
- MARIA CONCEIÇAO fem.
  killed by Komando K
- SEBASTIAO SOARES
  killed by Komando K
- FRANCISCA DA COSTA fem.
  killed by Komando K
- JANUARIO BELO
  killed by Komando K

08, in Buikarin (Viqueque)
- AGOSTINHA fem. teenager
  raped by Bat.509

09, in Buikarin (Viqueque)
- KARA KAIK fem. teenager
  raped by Bat.509

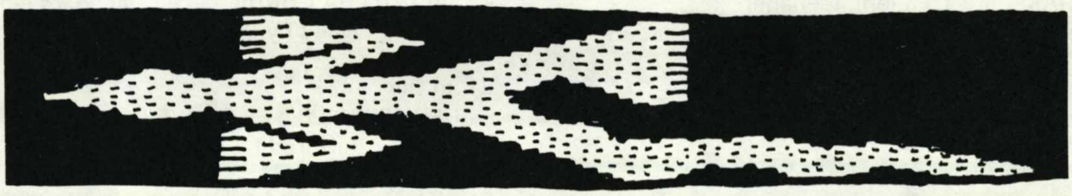
09, in Dili (=)
- SEBASTIAO SILVA SOARES (a)
  tortured by Kodim


(a)

10, in Buikarin (Viqueque)
- VERONICA fem. teenager
  raped by Bat.509

26, in Poros (Lospalos)
- NUNO FERREIRA 28 years old
  killed by Bat. 745

30, in Fuiloro (Lospalos)
- ANGELINA RAMOS fem. 28 years old
  killed by Bat. 412



July

?, in Lariguto (Baucau)
- no/ident.-info. Fretilin
  farmer, killed by Indon.A.F.
- no/ident.-info. Fretilin
  farmer, killed by Indon.A.F.
- no/ident.-info. Fretilin
  farmer, killed by Indon.A.F.

12, in Baucau (=)
- FRANCISCO LELAN 28 years old
  student, detained
- EUSEBIO 28 years old
  student, detained

12, in Cailaco (Maliana)
- FELICIANO ASA GAMA
  student, tortured by Koramil
- OSORIO LOILACO
  student, tortured by Koramil
- JOSE LOPES
  student, tortured by Koramil
- ADELINO SOARES
  student, tortured by Koramil

13, in Tabere (Viqueque)
- IDALINO FREITAS
  killed by Bat.321

On 17 July, the anniversary of the unilateral integration of East Timor within Indonesia, students raised the Fretilin flag at SMA I school in Dili. The military intervened.

18, in Baucau (=)
- SATURNINO COSTA
  tortured
- DUARTE SARMENTO
  tortured

22, in Dili (=)
- JOSE SOARES
  student, detained by Polres

22, in Cailaco (Maliana)
- JOAO BAPTISTA LOURENÇO
  tortured by Polres
- JOAOZINHO CARCERES teenager
  beaten by Indon.A.F.
- BONIFACIO BARRETO 21 years old (b)
  beaten by Indon.A.F.

23, in Cailaco (Maliana)
- FERNANDO BARRETO (c)
  tortured by Polres
- DOMINGOS BARRETO 18 years old (d)
  farmer, tortured by Polres

(b)

(c)

(d)

August

Iraq invaded Kuwait. Strong international reaction. **"No peaceful world order is possible if larger states can eat up their smaller neighbours"** said George Bush and Gorbatchev in the Helsinki communiqué. The UN Security Council passed resolutions against the annexation of Kuwait and pledged the means to follow them through. The world recalled the resolutions that had not been applied to Palestine... and East Timor?

SECURITY COUNCIL Resolutions

Resolution 384 of 22 December 1975:

The preamble recognizes **"the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence"**. The resolution **"deploring"** the intervention of the Indonesian Armed Forces **"calls upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the territory"**.
(adopted unanimously)

Resolution 389 of 22 April 1976:

"Calls upon all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor, as well as the inalienable right of its people to self-determination (...),
Calls upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without further delay all its forces from the Territory".
(Adopted by 12 votes to none, with 2 abstentions: USA, Japan).

?, in Bali (Indonesia)
- LUCAS SOARES
  disappeared
- CARLOS LOPES
  disappeared
- ALVARO RIBEIRO
  disappeared
- DOMINGOS BOSSA
  disappeared

?, in Uatulari (Viqueque)
- ADELINO CARVALHO
  tortured and killed by Indon.A.F.

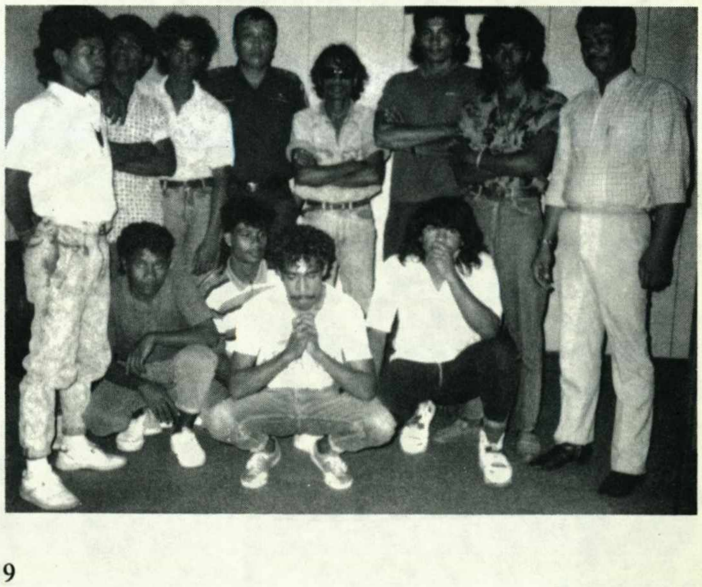
02, in Dili (=)
- AFONSO CARMONA
  disappeared
- JOSE LINO SOARES
  disappeared

15, in Kupang (Indonesia)
- MOISES COSTA
  local government official,disappeared

17, in ? (Ainaro)
- non/ident.-info.N.Y.Times
  killed

22, in Baucau (=)
- ALEXANDRE DA SILVA 15 years old
  killed
- JOSE DA SILVA 10 years old
  killed

29, in Buikarin (Viqueque)
- KASA BUI fem. 30 years old
  raped and killed by Bat.509



Summoned by the military commander,
Gen Warouw, in August 1990:

Standing from left to right:
- Joao Bosco Carceres, 23.
- Abílio Mesquita, 22, tortured in Oct. 1990.
- Talofo Alin, 24, tortured in Oct. 1990.
- Gen Warouw.
- Aleixo Gama, 23, tortured in June, Sept. and Nov.1990.
- Melquiades Alves, 25, tortured in Oct. 1990.
- Donaciano Gomes, 22, tortured in Dec. 1989.
- Intelligence Agent

kneeling:
- Eustaquio Guterres, 20, tortured in Oct. 1990
- Marcelino da Silva
- Clementino Faria, 24, tortured in Dec. 1989 and Oct. 1990
- Humberto Albuquerque, 20, arrested in Oct. 1990

Setember

03, in Bali (Indonesia)
- ADOLFO FONTES 27 years old
  student, tortured

On 4 September the Dili Catholic Diocese celebrated its 50th anniversary. The open-air mass, celebrated in the presence of Mgr Canalini, the Vatican's representative in Jakarta, and with about 20,000 Timorese in attendance, finished with a pro-independence demonstration.

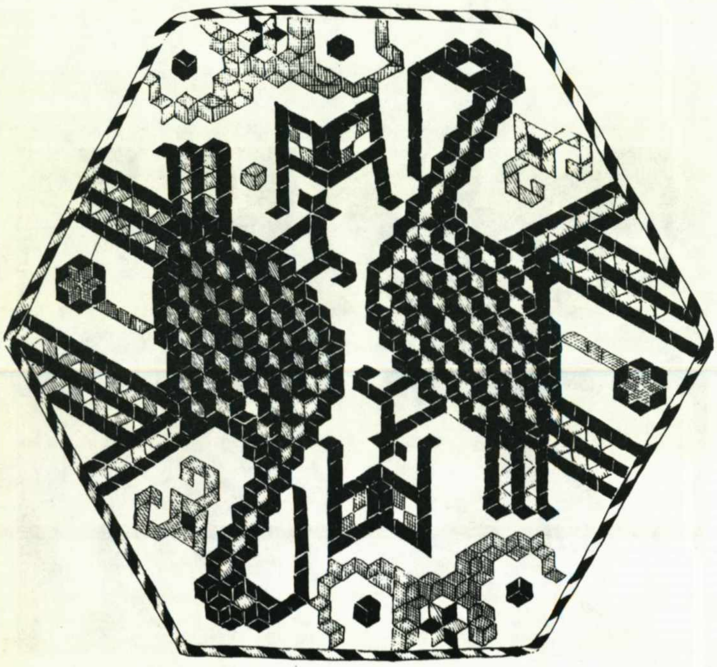
04, in Dili (=)
- FRANCISCO NASCIMENTO 20 years old
  student, tortured
- VICENTE PAULO MADEIRA (a)
  student, detained

(a)

06, in Dili (=)
- EVARISTO MENEZES
  disappeared

08, in Dili (=)
- TITO PIO SALDANHA
  detained by J.C.Melo
- JOSE ANTONIO GALUCHO XIMENES
  32 years old
  detained by J.C.Melo

10, in Dili (=)
- ALEIXO DA SILVA GAMA 23 years old
  student, tortured
- VICENTE MONIZ AMARAL 22 years old
  student, tortured



12, in Audian (Dili)
- ALBERTO MARIA COSTA 25 years old
  tortured by Brimog

Bands of masked men spread terror in the streets of Dili, attacking mostly at night and targetting young people on their own. This practice was not by any means new in Indonesia, having been used in the larger Indonesian cities during the 1980s, where it was aimed mainly at petty criminals. About 3,000 Indonesians had been victims of these bands who President Soeharto acknowledged in his autobiography acted with his backing.

In East Timor the practice had more of a political character. The Governor himself, in statements to France-Presse at the time, said that it had resulted in a curfew which although undeclared was widely observed, and that Indonesian soldiers formed part of these bands who were known in Dili as the "Ninjas".

14, in Dili (=)
- DOMINGOS SANCHES 58 years old
  tortured
- DOMINGOS MAU RADE 30 years old
  tortured and killed by Ninjas
- ANATALINO BELTRAO COSTA (b)
  21 years old
  student
  disappeared after arrested
  by Indon. A.F.

(b)

15, in Pite (Dili)
- CARLOS BORGES 20 years old
  disappeared after arrested by Ninjas

19, in Matadouro (Dili)
- JULIAO MARÇAL MARTINS 21 years old
  student, tortured

20, in Dili (=)
- MAU CORTA 15 years old
  tortured

20, in Matadouro (Dili)
- FELISMINO SOARES 20 years old
  student, tortured by Police P.Gaia
- EVANGELINO XIMENES 19 years old
  student, tortured
- AGOSTINHO PEREIRA MARTINS (c)
  21 years old
  student,
  detained by Ind.police

(c)

20, in Taibessi (Dili)
- FERNANDO
  disappeared after arrested by Ninjas

22, in Dili (=)
- MARCOS MAU
  tortured
- ANIBAL PAULO MAIA
  tortured

26, in Dili (=)
- JOAO PAULO MARCOS
  employed, tortured
- PAULO MAIA 30 years old
  driver, detained

27, in ... (Ainaro)
- LUIS AMARAL
  armed resistance, detained by Spec. A.F.

27, in Dili (=)
- JOAO BRAZ COSTA 18 years old
  student, detained by Intel.
- ALEXANDRE SANTOS
  tortured
- MARIANO MIRANDA
  tortured
- FELIX CAMPOS
  tortured
- JOSE MARIA
  tortured
- BOBY XAVIER LUIS PEREIRA 20 years old
  student, tortured by Ind.police

28, in Dili (=)
- JOSE DOS SANTOS 17 years old
  student, detained

30, in Ossu (Viqueque)
- MARIANO FREITAS AMARAL
  killed by Intel.

Guided by members of the clandestine resistance, an Australian journalist and trade union official, Robert Domm, met the resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao, in the mountains of East Timor. This was the first contact with the resistance leader since the invasion 15 years before.

The Timorese leader said: **"I am ready to discuss under the auspices of the UN and without pre-conditions any project or idea for a solution"**.

The Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ali Alatas, rejected this proposal: **"This is an old song which doesn't merit any comment"**.

(France Presse, 6/11/90).

Thirteen battallions were sent in search of Xanana Gusmao, including Battallions 741, 743, 744, 745, Red Beret Special Forces and Marines employing tanks, helicopters, and aerial search planes. A resistance commander was shot but Xanana slipped through the cordon.

In the light of the continuing...

... tragic consequences of the 15-year-old conflict in East Timor, the United States should support a process of peace talks that could lead to negotiations without preconditions among the parties directly involved."

(letter from 223 US Congress members to James Baker)

Robert Domm with Xanana Gusmao

October

?, in Dili (=)
- JACINTO ALBUQUERQUE
  detained by Intel.
- HUMBERTO ALBUQUERQUE (a)
  student, detained by Intel.

(a)

?, in Makadiki (Viqueque)
- CONSTANTINO RIBALEKI
  armed resistance, killed by Indon.A.F.

06, in Kablake (Ainaro)
- DOMINGOS PINTO
  armed resistance, detained by Spec. A.F.

07, in Kablake (Ainaro)
- FELIX
  armed resistance, detained by Spec. A.F.

On 8 October, as is usual on Mondays, the ceremony of the raising of the Indonesian flag took place in schools and students and school staff were expected to attend. At nº4 secondary school in Dili the accompanying speech was given by Bachtiar Gani, a Javanese public servant, and it was a provocative one. The students protested but the Indonesian military (744 and Brimog Battallion were assembled nearby) intervened immediately which suggests that the provocation may have been intentional.

In its annual report on world human rights for 1990, the US State Department mentions that an Indonesian official was fired for having provoked a student outburst and this presumably refers to Bachtiar Gani, although he is not named.

08, in Dili (=)
- BOBY XAVIER LUIS PEREIRA 20 years old
  student, tortured

09, in Dili (=)
- ARLINDO
  student, detained
- CASIMIRO
  student, detained
- TOMAS
  student, detained

10, in Dili (=)
- CARLITO 24 years old
  student, tortured by Kodim
- LUIS DA SILVA
  student, tortured by Kodim
- BASILIO BARRETO
  student, tortured by Kodim
- FRANCISCO CUNHA
  student, tortured by Kodim
- CASIMIRO COSTA
  student, tortured by Kodim
- JOAQUIM SOARES
  student, tortured by Kodim

11, in Veter (Viqueque)
- VENANCIO
  killed by Team Makikit

12, in Dili (=)
- CLEMENTINO FARIA MATOS 24 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- GUILHERME PEREIRA (b)
  26 years old
  student
  tortured by Indon.A.F.

(b)

AINARO - 41 people from the villages of SORO and SURU-KRAIK were arrested and tortured. Only two of them have been identified. The arrests apparently took place because the army had discovered photographs of the villagers among material captured from the guerrillas.

14, in Ainaro (=)
- MARIANO DA SILVA 33 years old
  disappeared after arrested by Spec. A.F.
- ARMANDO
  tortured by Kodim

14, in Baucau (=)
- MATEUS BELO 52 years old
  disappeared
- HERMINIO JESUS FRAGA 22 years old
  detained
- JOAO DE JESUS
  detained

?, in Baucau (=)
- GUILHERMINO MARIA
  disappeared
- AGOSTINHO COSTA SALDANHA
  disappeared
- MANUEL DA COSTA F.
  disappeared
- ALEIXO PEREIRA S.MATOS
  detained
- JAIME COSTA REIS BELO
  detained
- AFONSO FREITAS BELO
  tortured
- FILOMENO DA SILVA
  tortured
- PATRICIO CORREIA
  tortured
- LUIS FRANCISCO CORREIA
  tortured

On Monday 15 there was a further incident of apparent provocation at the Paul VI Catholic School in Dili. The Armed Forces accused the students of having painted an anti-Indonesian slogan on the wall of the school. The students replied that the carefully-painted slogan could not have been painted by one of them because it was in an exposed position that was under constant patrol by military and Intelligence. Mário Carrascalao, the Indonesian-appointed Governor, said to France-Presse that there had been acts of provocation involved.

15, in Dili (=)

- MARCOS ARAUJO COSTA SOARES
  student, detained
- DAVID COSTA LAY 25 years old
  driver, tortured by Indon.A.F.
- CARLOS CONCEIÇAO RIBEIRO 22 years old
  detained
- ANTONIO MENDONÇA
  employed, detained
- AFONSIUS NAHAK
  employed, detained
- AZIS SOARES
  farmer, tortured
- BENDITO SARMENTO (SOARES)
  local government official, disappeared
- CELESTINO GODINHO
  farmer, tortured
- ERNESTO MONIZ
  student, tortured
- PEDRO MONIZ
  student, tortured
- SILVINO BARRETO 20 years old
  student, detained
- CLEMENTINO GUTERRES 16 years old
  detained
- MARCELINO DA COSTA
  student, detained
- RUI CARVALHO
  detained
- ANTONIO
  farmer, detained
- CARLOS DA COSTA RIBEIRO 22 years old
  farmer, tortured
- FERNANDO (Nando)
  student, detained
- MELQUIADES ALVES 25 years old
  student, tortured by Kodim
- CARLITO
  detained
- LITO VAZ
  driver, detained
- FRANCELINO GUTERRES (a)
  student,
  tortured by Kodim

(a)

16, in Dili (=)

- SERGIO FONTURA GUTERRES
  tortured
- JOSE AMARAL TILMAN 21 years old
  student, tortured
- JORGE SOARES 23 years old
  student, tortured
- MANUEL ALVES CORREIA
  student, detained by Indon.A.F.
- ABEL
  student, detained by Indon.A.F.
- JOAO
  student, detained by Indon.A.F.
- ERNESTO
  student, detained by Indon.A.F.
- MANUEL
  male nurse, detained
- CANCIO 19 years old
  detained
- ABEL
  student, tortured
- TALOFO MONIZ ALIN 24 years old
  tortured

Talofo Moniz Alin

Father: Joaquim Tamboro Alin
Resident: Dili
(Vila Verde suburb)
24 years old
Married

Arrested from his home at midnight. After being tortured, he was admitted to Dili military hospital with a fractured rib and suspected fractured vertebra. He remained handcuffed throughout his stay there.

After his release, he was placed under the protection of the Catholic Church in Motael parish, Dili, because of his poor state of health and fears that he would be submitted to more torture.

- CARLOS ALEONG teenager
  student, tortured
- GELSON ASSIS BELO 20 years old
  student, tortured
- TOMAS AQUINO C. teenager
  detained
- JOAO LAI teenager
  detained
- CANDIDO SOARES teenager
  detained
- TOMAS SOARES teenager
  detained
- MARQUES SOARES 18 years old
  detained
- SILVINO CURADO DA COSTA 20 years old
  detained

17, in Dili (=)

- JOAO PAULO LI HAU 21 years old
  disappeared
- JOAO BOSCO HAU 40 years old
  local government official, tortured

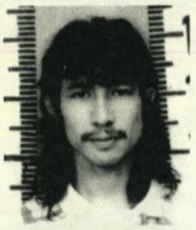
Joao Bosco Hau

40 years old
Resident: Dili
(Comoro suburb).

An official in the Indonesian administration and the head of Pemde TK Timor Timur, he was generally regarded as being in favour of the integration of East Timor within Indonesia. On 17 October, hearing troops making a noisy forcible entry to the house of a neighbour, he came out of his home and was immediately attacked by them. They manhandled his son Joao Paulo Li Hau and ransacked his house. Joao Bosco was dragged along the ground for a distance of 400 metres.

He was later admitted to the civil hospital because of the blows he received. His son was also arrested.

- DAVID CONCEIÇAO (Aleong) 24 years old (a)
  student,disappeared after arrested by Kodim
- JULIO MARTINS 22 years old (b)
  student, tortured
- DOMINGOS PEREIRA 23 years old (c)
  student, tortured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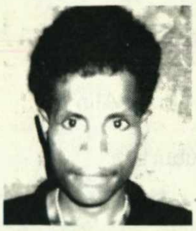
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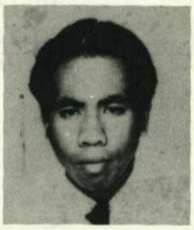

(c)

- FRANCISCO
  student, detained
- NELSON LEMOS
  student, detained
- BENEDITO CESARIO GUTERRES
  student, tortured
- RUI NEVES REIS
  student, tortured
- SILVINO SOARES C.MAIA
  disappeared after arrested by Indon. A.F.
- NELSON HENRIQUE MARTINS 15 years old
  student, detained

18, in Dili (=)
- FLORENCIO MARTINS REGO (d)
  student, tortured

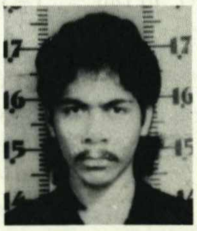
(d)

- NELSON DO REGO
  student, tortured
- AVI
  tortured
- MARIO ORLANDO NEVES 50 years old
  male nurse, tortured

19, in Dili (=)
- CLAUDIO ARMINDO BRITES BOAVIDA 26 years old
  student,disappeared

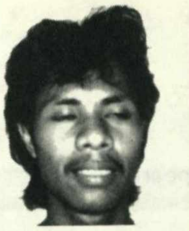
Claudio Armindo Brites Boavida

Nickname: Didi
Parents: Maria Chaves Brites
and Claudio da Luz Boavida
26 years old
Resident: Dili
(Formosa suburb)
Student at Paul VI School



After the military had entered his school, Claudio had dared to suggest that the graffiti which had provoked their intervention had been painted by the Indonesians themselves or by their collaborators. The reactions of the soldiers to this led to an outbreak of fighting. In the days that followed the military claimed that a revolver and a radio transmitter had been found stolen during the fighting and accused Claudio of having been responsible. On the 19th he was beaten unconscious and taken away by the soldiers. His sister and the Catholic priests tried in vain to find out his whereabouts, the Indonesian military replying that he had run off. Up to March 1991 his friends had heard no further news of him and feared that he had been executed.

- EGIDIO
  student, detained
- JOAO RODRIGUES PEREIRA
  detained
- LOURENÇO RODRIGUES PEREIRA (e)
  student, detained
- FILIPE RODRIGUES PEREIRA (f)
  detained
- JANIO FERDINANDO LOBATO (g)
  student, detained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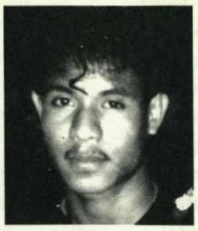
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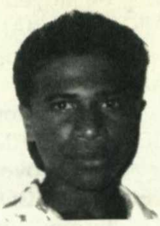

(g)

- MIGUEL SANTOS XIMENES
  detained
- AQUILES A M CORREIA 22 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.

20, in ? ( )
- JAIME RIBEIRO
  killed by Indon.A.F.
- TOMAS MENDONÇA
  killed by Indon.A.F.
- ANDRE DA CONCEIÇAO
  killed by Indon.A.F.

20, in Ira-ara (Lospalos)
- ABILIO SANTOS TILMAN
  tortured by Indon.A.F.
- JULIANA VALENTIM CONCEIÇAO fem.
  tortured by Indon.A.F.

22, in Aileu (=)
- MARÇAL DOS SANTOS 28 years old
  detained
- FERNANDO MENDONÇA 21 years old
  detained

22, in Lospalos (=)
- MATEUS JERONIMO
  student,disappeared
- CARCILIANO OLIVEIRA
  student,disappeared

23, in Dili (=)
- NELSON DA COSTA ARAUJO 20 years old
  student, detained by Spec. A.F.
- IDALIO DA COSTA ARAUJO 18 years old
  student, detained by Spec. A.F.

23, in Lospalos (=)
- FRANCISCO OLIVEIRA
  student, killed

24, in Lospalos (=)
- MARCOS MONTEIRO
  student, killed

26, in Dili (=)
- CARLOS VICENTE
  student, tortured
- RUI BELO
  student, tortured

27, in Dili (=)

- **BENIGNO SOARES DA SILVA** 20 years old
  student, tortured

28, in Dili (=)

- **CALISTO GODINHO** 17 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.

29, in Dili (=)

- **FILOMENO BARRETO**
  policeman, tortured by Ninjas

- **ABILIO MESQUITA**
  23 years old
  student, tortured

Abilio Mesquita

Resident: Dili
(Santa Cruz suburb)
Student at S José School
His father and brothers
had been shot
when they surrendered to
the Indonesian authorities in 1978

He was arrested on his way home about 8 pm.
60 soldiers had surrounded his house. He was beaten on the spot and then taken to the Intelligence headquarters (Senopati II). There he was beaten with gun butts and iron bars and subjected to electric shocks. The soldiers wanted him to accuse the priests of having organized the demonstration during the Pope's visit, the US Ambassador and the Papal Nuncio. Abilio replied "I joined the demonstrations of my own accord because I am aware of the atrocities committed against the people of East Timor." A blow of a gun fractured his jaw.
Five days later he was taken to the military hospital, where the military doctor insisted on a fee of 500,000 roupiahs. His family could not pay this sum and the operation was finally carried out 21 days after the fracture had occurred only after the bishop had promised to pay the expenses. After a visit from his mother accompanied by the bishop and a representative of the International Red Cross, the soldiers said to him: "You were a fool to tell the Red Cross about that (the torture). Maybe you are better off now, but we will shoot you later."

30, in Dili (=)

- **EUSTAQUIO SACRAMENTO GUTERRES** 20 years old
  student, tortured

?, in Dili (=)

- **FRANCISCO**
  tortured
- **APOLINARIO BARROS**
  tortured
- **VIRGILIO FRANCISCO BENTO**
  tortured
- **NELSON DE JESUS**
  tortured
- **MARCOS DA COSTA**
  tortured
- **JULIO DA CONCEIÇAO RIBEIRO**
  tortured
- **ANTONIO DOS SANTOS**
  tortured

- **JUSTINIANO RODRIGUES**
  tortured
- **ANTONIO GONÇALVES**
  tortured
- **ANTONIO PUBLICO**
  detained
- **FERNANDO TILMAN**
  detained
- **JOSE PEREIRA**
  detained
- **SEBASTIAO B. C. SOARES**
  detained
- **SIMAO**
  detained
- **DEMETRIO BARROS**
  disappeared
- **MARCIO G. GONÇALVES**
  detained
- **DAMIAO**
  detained
- **MARTINHO** (a)
  detained
- **NELSON ARMANDO BAPTISTA** (b)
  detained
- **ROGERIO KU** (c)
  detained

(a)

(b)

(c)

- **VIRGILIO P. S. SILVA COSTA** (d)
  detained
- **ANTONIO MOK** (e)
  detained
- **ANTONIO OLIVEIRA** (f)
  detained

(d)

(e)

(f)

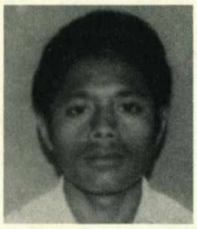
- **FRANCISCO RODRIGUES FARIA** (g)
  detained
- **MARCELINO JESUS** (h)
  detained
- **MANUEL M. T. REGO SORIANO** (i)
  detained

(g)

(h)

(i)

- AGOSTINHO PEREIRA (a)
  detained
- ALEXANDRE MAGNO (b)
  detained
- AMARO CARVALHO (c)
  detained



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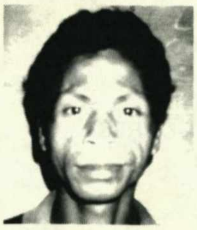

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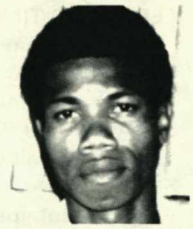
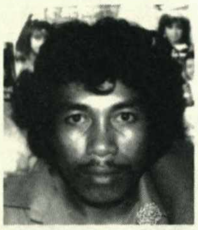


(c)

- ANTONIO BADAK (d)
  detained
- ARMINDO SOARES (e)
  detained
- DAVID SEIXAS (f)
  detained



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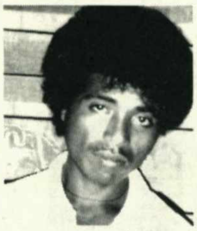

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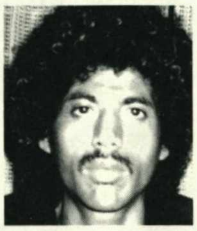
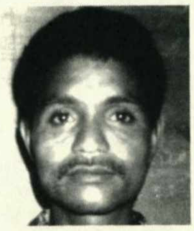


(f)

- DOMINGOS SEGURADO (g)
  detained
- EGAS SOARES (h)
  detained
- FRANCISCO JESUS SOARES (i)
  detained



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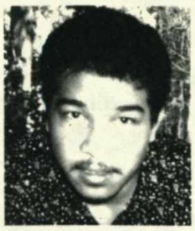

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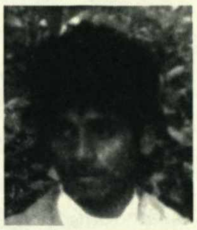
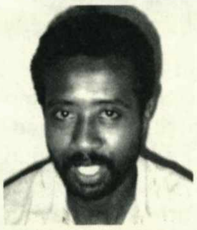


(i)

- FRANCISCO MARIA SOUSA (j)
  detained
- HENRIQUE BELMIRO (k)
  detained
- CAETANO MARTINS 21 years old (l)
  student, wounded



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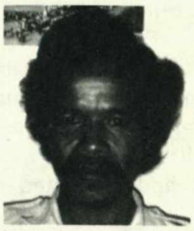

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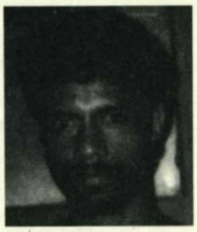


(l)

The New York Times

East Timor, reopened by Indonesians remains a sad and terrifying place

This is one of the world's sadder places, where 100.000 to 200.000 people died from 1974 to 1980 in a brutal civil war and the consequent invasion, through combat, execution, disease and starvation - a larger percentage of the population than died in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge.

Despite Indonesia's considerable efforts at development - schools, roads, bridges, harbours, telephones, television and much more - Timorese remember the harsh years after the invasion of December 7, 1975, when thousands of peasants fled to the parched mountains and tried to survive helicopter gunships, free-fire zones, the burning of their crops, and a military that suppressed all resistance.

Since then, prodded by the Governor and international criticism of human rights abuses, the tone of official behaviour has changed, with an emphasis on reconciliation, development and progress.

After having been closed to all but officially approved visitors for 13 years, Governor Carrascalao convinced a reportedly reluctant military command that the security problem now presented by the guerrillas of Fretilin, the left-wing independence movement, was minor. In January 1989, the province was opened to tourism and foreign investment, he said, to provide Timorese jobs, travel opportunities and "a degree of dignity". But the tone of those at the top is not always carried out in the field or on the streets. The principal city, Dili, has the feeling of a police state. Visitors are monitored; police and military intelligence agents live at hotels; tourists guides are questioned about itineraries; ordinary citizens do not want to talk to a foreigner in public; priests are nervous about being seen in conversation.

Detentions, beatings and killings continue, diplomats and Timorese say, though on a considerably smaller scale. Still, in the last few months, there has again been a surge of abuses. Besides the nighttime beatings, the Institute for the Defense of Human Rights in Jakarta has put out a list of 16 people it believes were killed by the army in June, and at least three of the deaths have been confirmed, diplomats say.

There are also reports of eight more civilians killed in the countryside by the army, of which three have been confirmed, including one man near Ainaro, who was killed on August 17, Indonesian Independence Day, when he ran from the military after being beaten for inattention during the raising of the Indonesian flag.

The military has told diplomats that it killed 16 Fretilin guerrillas in August, and that all were armed. The Governor said he knew of three killings, two near Ainaro in May and one in Viqueque in June, "but of course they can happen without my knowledge". He said the soldier involved in the June killing was tried and punished, but he did not know his sentence. Still, he said, the first trial of a soldier in 15 years here took place this February, and he said there has been at least one a month since then.

But a priest with long experience here said the new, cooperative tone was rarely backed by action. Villagers complaining of abuses or detentions often came to priests, who then talk to the army. Officers are very welcoming, he said, wanting to know what happened and promising to investigate immediately and punish the guilty. "They never say, 'Father, it's impossible', or 'Father,it's difficult. They promise every kind of help, but usually don't do it".

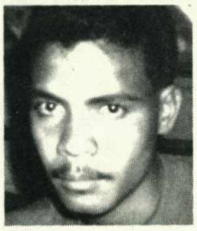
(Steven Erlanger, 'The New York Times', 21/10/90)

November

Four people were arrested in Manatuto and 21 others sought refuge in the grounds of the parish church.

01, in Manatuto (=)
- MARIO NICOLAU SOARES
  local government official, disappeared
- HILARIO
  disappeared by Indon.A.F.
- VICENTE ARAUJO
  disappeared by Indon.A.F.
- VICTOR VIEGAS
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.

02, in Dili (=)
- VICENTE MONIZ 22 years old (a)
  student, tortured


(a)

04, in Dili (=)
- VENTURA VALENTIM CONCEIÇAO
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.

Ventura Valentim Conceiçao

Student at the Paul VI School

He was sought by the military after the army's intervention at his school on 15 October on the grounds that he had been involved in the theft of a revolver and a radio.

The army arrived at the house of his sister in Ira-Ara (Lospalos) around midnight on 20 Oct and searched for him. On not finding him they took his sister Juliana Valentim Conceiçao and his brother-in-law Abilio Santos Tilman to the Kodim at Lospalos where they were ill-treated until four a.m. to make them reveal where he was hiding.

On the 21 Oct around two a.m. soldiers arrived at the house of his Aunt, Fernanda Alegria, and not finding Ventura they took the entire family (about 20 people in all) to the Kodim.

On 4 November they finally caught Ventura in Dili. He was taken to Intelligence (Nusra Bakti) where he was ill-treated for five days before being released after promising to be an informer for Intel.

He was left with a number of injuries to his chest.

- LIQUIÇA - 96 people were tortured. 57 of them have been identified as being Timorese civil servants, highly placed within the Indonesian administration. One such was M. Gregorio dos Santos, District Chief of Agriculture.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jeky and Captain Suwito were later shown 53 Fretilin flags. The people interrogated claimed that they had been keeping the flags as "souvenirs".

06, in Fazenda Algarve (Liquiça)
- SISTO FERNANDES
  employed, detained
- TEODOLINDO ALVES CORREIA (b)
  employed, detained
- AFONSO CRUZ (c)
  employed, detained

06, in Liquiça (=)
- ABRAAO SANTOS (d)
  detained

(b)

(c)

(d)

- CARLITO
  employed, wounded

07, in Dili (=)
- JOSE FRANCISCO MAGALI 14 years old
  student, tortured

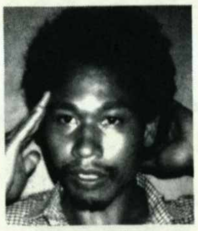
08, in Dili (=)
- BELCHIOR FR. B.A. PEREIRA
  student, tortured

10, in Dato (Liquiça)
- VICENTE SANTOS
  student, tortured

10, in Dili (=)
- HORACIO DA COSTA 32 years old
  disappeared

12, in Alor (Liquiça)
- CALISTO
  teacher, detained

12, in Liquiça (=)
- PELAGIO FLORES SANTOS (e)
  student, detained
- JORGE FLORES SANTOS (f)
  student, detained
- FRANCISCO FLAVIANO SANTOS (g)
  detained


(e)

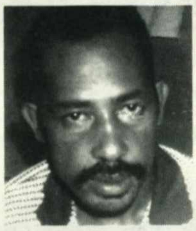
(f)

(g)

- AMANDIO
  detained
- MANUEL LISBOA
  local government official, detained
- JERONIMO
  detained
- JORGE GONÇALVES
  detained

- JOAO VIDIGAL
  detained
- MARIANO
  local government official, detained
- MATIAS
  detained
- EDMUNDO JORDAO 34 years old
  detained
- AMADEU DOS SANTOS 37 years old
  local government official, detained
- ARTUR MAUKIRI
  detained
- VICENTE LEKO DOS SANTOS 40 years old
  student, detained
- VICENTE DA COSTA
  detained
- VICTOR
  local government official, detained
- FILOMENO OLIVEIRA 36 years old
  co detained
- CARLITO DOS SANTOS 26 years old
  detained
- GREGORIO NAZ. DOS SANTOS 37 years old (a)
  local government official, tortured

12, in Metagou (Liquiça)
- ANTONIO ALVES (b)
  detained


(a)

(b)

- JAIME
  detained

12, in Fatuquesi (Liquiça)
- ALBERTO PEREIRA
  local government official, detained
- JAIME
  local government official, detained

?, in Lauhata (Liquiça)
- MARCELINA fem.
  teacher, detained
- HERMINIA fem.
  teacher, detained

13, in Dili (=)
- JOSE ANTONIO J. GALUCHO 31 years old (c)
  local government official,
  tortured by Indon.A.F.

(c)

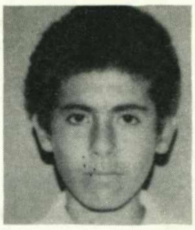
- NOE DA SILVA XIMENES 21 years old
  student, tortured by Indon.A.F.

14, in Ainaro (=)
- EDUARDO CASIMIRO DEUS 21 years old
  seminarian, tortured

15, in Dili (=)
- JORGE AVELINO GUSMAO 15 years old
  student, tortured by Ind.police

Jorge Avelino Gusmao

Parents: Celina Gusmao
and Manuel Avelino
Born: Dili, 24/04/75
Resident: Dili
(Vila Verde suburb)
Student at Paul VI School.



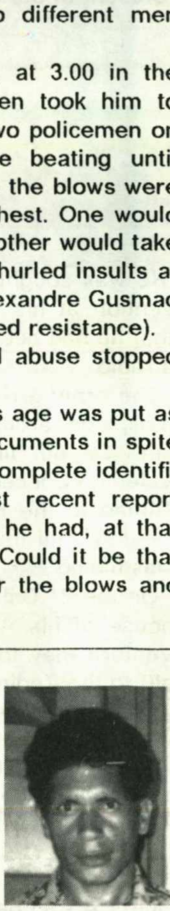
Although summoned to present himself by the police after the army's incursion into his school on 15 Oct. he was afraid to do so and went into hiding for three weeks. However on being summoned for the third time his uncle accompanied him to Polwil police station on 15 November at 9.00 in the morning. There he was interrogated. After the interrogation he was told to think hard to see if he would denounce his companions. When he remained silent two policeman began punching him on the head, chest and belly and then they beat him on the back with truncheons. This lasted nearly an hour. They then put him in a cell. At 3.00 in the afternoon they took him from the cell and two different men began to punch and beat him again.

On the following day, 16 November, at 3.00 in the morning, they again beat him and then took him to Polsek police prison in Becora. Here, two policemen on duty received him and continued the beating until almost the following morning. This time the blows were on the pit of the stomach and on the chest. One would hit him until he was tired and then the other would take over. As well as this ill-treatment they hurled insults at the young boy and at his uncle José Alexandre Gusmao (Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the armed resistance).

After a week had passed the physical abuse stopped but the insults and jeering continued.

Although he was only 15 years old, his age was put as 17 and even as 23, on various police documents in spite of the fact that he had presented his complete identification papers to the police. The most recent report received, dated 1/12/90, indicates that he had, at that time, already spent 40 days in prison. Could it be that his age was increased so as to render the blows and imprisonment less odious?

- AUGUSTO MARIO V. NORONHA (d)
  21 years old
  student
  tortured by Ind.police

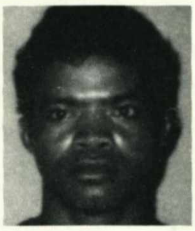

(d)

16, in Dili (=)
- SERGIO FERNANDES CARVALHO 21 years old
  student,disappeared by Intel.
- ANTONIO LOPES 15 years old
  student, disappeared by Intel.

17, in Dili (=)
- JOSE MANUEL S. FERNANDES 24 years old (a)
  student,disappeared

18, in Dili (=)
- PEDRO DA COSTA LEMORAI 18 years old (b)
  student, wounded by Indon.A.F.
- JORGE MANUEL A SERRANO 20 years old (c)
  student, wounded by Indon.A.F.

(a)


(b)

(c)

- ALEIXO DA SILVA GAMA 23 years old
  student,disappeared

Aleixo da Silva Gama

Nickname: Aleixo Laga
Parents: Domingas da Silva
and Marcelino Gama
Born: 17/07/69, Laga (Baucau)
Resident: Dili
(Bidau - Santana suburb)
Student at S. José School

On 18 Nov. the army forcibly invaded the parish priests house at Motael, Dili. They had orders to capture Aleixo. Many young people had taken refuge at this house, some for more than a month. Many of them had already experienced torture at the hands of the Indonesians and had come here in the hope of avoiding rearrest. This was the case with Aleixo who had already been picked up three times before. The last of these, in September, had resulted in him being hospitalised because of the torture to which he had been subjected.

He was beaten again on the spot and taken away covered in blood. Other young people there were also beaten. The intervention of priests and religious prevented the others from being taken away because the soldiers did not have any warrant for their arrest but they were unable to prevent the rearrest of Aleixo.

19, in Fahi-Lebo (Liquiça)
- LEONETO DA CONCEIÇAO
  detained by Indon.A.F.
- ABILIO DOS SANTOS 19 years old
  detained by Indon.A.F.
- MARTINHO RIBEIRO
  detained by Indon.A.F.
- FELICIANO PEREIRA 24 years old
  farmer, detained
- PAULINO RIBEIRO
  detained
- DOMINGOS DOS SANTOS 20 years old
  farmer, detained
- ERNESTO RIBEIRO 21 years old
  detained

19, in Ritabou (Maliana)
- BONIFACIO BARRETO 21 years old
  farmer, detained

23, in Leorema (Liquiça)
- DOMINGOS
  detained

24, in Leorema (Liquiça)
- JOSE SEQUEIRA ALVES 35 years old
  detained

25, in Fatunero (Liquiça)
- SEBASTIAO REIS LOBATO
  detained by babinsa
- BENTO DOS REIS LOBATO
  detained by babinsa
- JORGE DOS REIS LOBATO
  detained by babinsa
- JULIO DOS REIS LOBATO
  detained by babinsa
- ESTEVAO LOBATO
  detained by babinsa

25, in Leorema (Liquiça)
- SANTIAGO DOS SANTOS
  detained
- MIGUEL
  detained

26, in Leorema (Liquiça)
- TOMAS (Mau-Kinta)
  detained
- JOSE BUI
  detained
- JACINTO 40 years old
  local government official, detained by Intel.

27, in Leorema (Liquiça)
- ANTONIO DAS NEVES
  detained
- CARLOS DOS SANTOS
  detained
- MARTINHO DOS SANTOS
  detained

28, in Dili (=)
- FILOMENO GOMES 49 years old
  local government official, detained by Kodim

29, in Leorema (Liquiça)
- DOMINGOS GONÇALVES
  detained
- FELIX DOS SANTOS FREITAS
  detained

30, in Maliana (=)
- MARCOS DOS SANTOS (d)
  35 years old
  farmer
  tortured by Indon.A.F.

(d)

?, in Ermera (=)
- BASILIO MARTINS
  local government official, detained

?, in Dato (Liquiça)
- BENEDITO SOUSA LAY
  tortured

?, in Dili (=)
- JORGE XIMENES
  tortured

December

?, in Lia Ruka (?)
- AQUILINO
  killed by Bat.401

01, in Dili (=)
- DOMINGOS PEREIRA 23 years old
  detained by Indon.A.F.

- MALIANA - An operation was mounted of the same type as that carried out earlier in Liquiça which resulted in the capture of some flags along with recordings of Xanana Gusmao, the resistance leader, and of two old Mauser rifles, relics of the Portuguese era. Information received spoke of 400 people being "pursued" (without being more explicit) and furnished the names of ten people who were picked up, tortured or who disappeared after questioning.

07, in Hatas (Maliana)
- CIPRIANO AMARAL 35 years old
  teacher, tortured by Kodim

07, in Ritabou (Maliana)
- MATEUS CARVALHEIRA 29 years old
  local government official, tortured by Kodim

10, in Leolima (Maliana)
- CARLITO DA PURIFICAÇAO 30 years old
  tortured by Kodim
- ADAO DA PURIFICAÇAO 45 years old
  local government official, tortured by Polres

Adao da Purificaçao

Local government official in Bandes, Maliana.
His pregnant wife was manhandled during his arrest.
His brother Carlito was also arrested.
They were tortured at Polres and later at Maliana by Kodim. They were kicked and beaten with fists and gun butts. They were also subjected to burns from lighted cigarettes and to electric shocks and were kept bound hands and feet.

13, in Lahomea (Maliana)
- MARCOS DE JESUS SOARES 38 years old
  local government official, tortured by Kodim
- WENCESLAU VIANA DO CARMO 32 years old
  male nurse, tortured by Kodim

13, in Ritabou (Maliana)
- ACACIO DE ARAUJO 39 years old
  local government official, tortured by Kodim

13, in Asapa Isi (?)
- PAULO GAMA
  killed by Bat.401

17, in Ritabou (Maliana)
- CLAUDINO GUTERRES 30 years old
  policeman, tortured by Kodim

18, in Maliana (=)
- MATEUS TAVARES MARIA 30 years old
  disappeared

19, in Maliana (=)
- MANUEL EDUARDO SANTOS (a)
  25 years old
  driver, tortured

(a)

?, in Lacluta (Viqueque)
- CARLOS CALIPOBO
  killed by Bat.406
- TAIBEREK
  killed by Bat.406

?, in ? ( )
- ABOY (ou ABORY)
  tortured

?, in Baucau (=)
- 7 non-identifiés
  detained
- JULIO PROCOPIO
  detained
- MANUEL METIKO
  detained
- MATEUS
  detained

?, in Dili (=)
- ALEIXO PEREIRA GUTERRES
  detained
- VICENTE DE ARAUJO 23 years old
  student, detained

?, in Viqueque (=)
- ELIDIA CARVALHO MONTEIRO fem. 17 years old
  student, raped by Bat.403

Children playing in the sand of their thoughts
and wading in the sea of their long dreams

The sea and the sand don't have frontiers

And that's why the sand glistens
why the sea is speckled green

But so often the children grow
and never return
not to the sand
nor to the sea.

Fernando Sylvan
(Timorese poet)

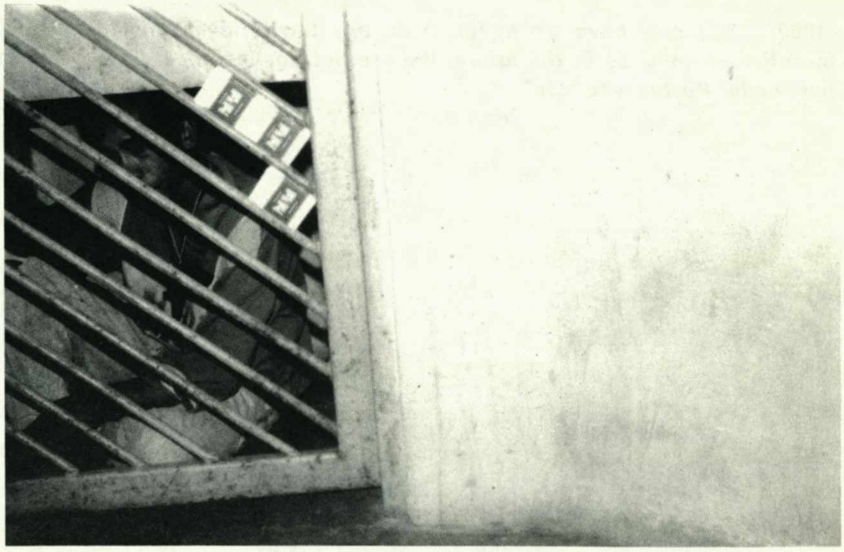
The tip of the iceberg ?

As this edition was going to press we received photographs, taken in May 1991 in Becora prison (Dili). Of the 26 people photographed, 1 was detained in 1985, 2 in 1986, 1 in 1989, 16 in 1990 and 4 in 1991.

Of those 16 imprisoned in 1990, only 4 had been mentioned in the information we had previously received and which we published in the foregoing pages: David da Conceiçao (who had been formerly listed as having disappeared), José António Joaquim Galucho, José Maria Jeronimo and José Soares Sarmento. We had not known that the latter two were imprisoned in October 1990: J.M.Jeronimo had been listen as detained on 12 May and J.Soares Sarmento had been included along with some dozens of others, on a list of young people "sought by the authorities" which we had received but had not included in this publication because we were unable to be more precise about the situation.

These figures go to confirm what we stated in the introduction regarding the necessarily partial character of the information of East Timor which reaches the exterior, and the high proportion of hitherto unknown cases illustrates clearly the difficulties facing informants, even after the 'opening up' of the borders.

- ANTONIO DA SILVA
  detained in 12/01/90
- ROGERIO RIBEIRO
  detained in 24/01/90
- ANTONIO MALI
  detained in 24/01/90
- GASPAR PEREIRA
  detained in 18/05/90
- FERNANDO CASIMIRO (Sole Messak)
  detained in 07/06/90
- AFONSO FREITAS PEREIRA
  detained in 10/10/90
- DAVID DA CONCEIÇAO SINAI (Aleong)
  detained in 16/10/90
- JOSE MARIA JERONIMO
  detained in 23/10/90
- JOSE SOARES SARMENTO
  detained in 29/10/90
- FRANCISCO PEREIRA DE CARVALHO
  detained in 09/11/90
- NELSON DOS SANTOS
  detained in 09/11/90
- JOSE BAPTISTA
  detained in 09/11/90
- MANUEL DA CRUZ
  detained in 09/11/90
- DOMINGOS DA CRUZ
  detained in 09/11/90
- JOAO MARTINS
  detained in 09/11/90
- JOSE ANTONIO JOAQUIM GALUCHO
  detained in 13/11/90



José António Joaquim Galucho

Francisco Pereira de Carvalho, Nelson Santos, José Baptista and Manuel da Cruz.

Domingos da Cruz

POSITION OF THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT ON EAST TIMOR

1954 - ***"Indonesia was the national political name of the former Netherlands East Indies, including West Irian... The boundaries of the State** (of Indonesia) **could only be the boundaries of the former Netherlands East Indies with whose freedom the national movement** (for independence) **had been concerned".***

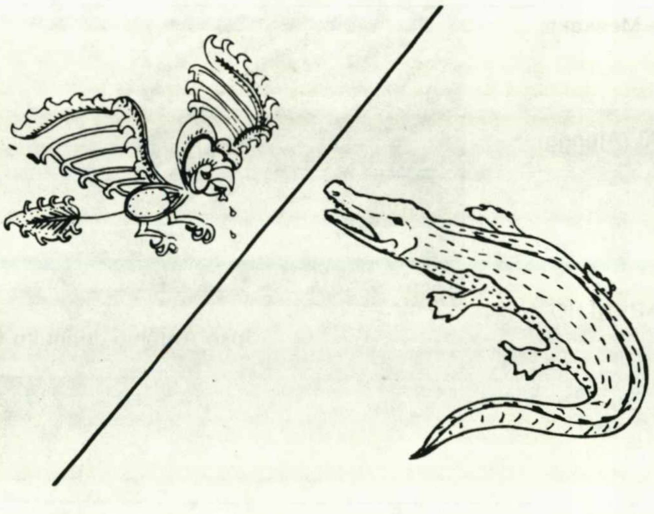
(Statement of the representative of Indonesia in the 9th Session of the United Nations General Assembly)

1961 - ***"In regard to the large island of Borneo whose northern part is British territory, and likewise as regards one-half of the island of Timor, which is Portuguese, we have no territorial claims at all".***

(Mr. Subandrio, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, 16th Session U.N. General Assembly)

1962 - ***"Not only have we never made any territorial claims to date, but we also categorically state that we have no intention of doing so in the future. We are not, for instance, laying claim to the other part of the island of Timor, which is now under Portuguese rule".***

(Representative of Indonesia, 17th Session U.N. General Assembly)



WITHIN A YEAR THE POSITION CHANGES

1974, June - ***"We will support Portuguese Timor if its own people want to obtain their independence... Indonesia will give guarantees of not interfering in the determination of the future of Portuguese Timor".***

(Mr. Adam Malik, Indonesian Foreign Minister, 'Sinar Harapan' (Jakarta), 17/6/74).

October - ***"Indonesia would like to see the people of Portuguese Timor exercise their right to self-determination. If the people of Portuguese Timor decided to unite with the people of Indonesia after a period of 400 years of separation imposed upon them by colonial domination, Indonesia was prepared to collaborate with them to that end".***

(Representative of Indonesia, 29th Session Fourth Committee of the General Assembly)

December - ***"There are only two choices opened to the Timorese: union with Indonesia or continuation of Portugal's control. The third option of independence is not realistic".***

(Mr. Adam Malik, quoted in Official Records of the General Assembly, 30th Session, suppl.nº 23)

1975, July - ***Portuguese Timor can not be independent.***

(President Suharto, 'The Age' (Australia), 10/7/75).

U.N.O.

In 1982 the UN General Assembly passed this resolution, the eighth since 1975

RESOLUTION 37/30 (excerpts)

"The General Assembly,

Recognising the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence (...),
Bearing in mind that Portugal, the administering Power, has stated its full and solemn commitment to uphold the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence,
Concerned with the humanitarian situation prevailing in the Territory and believing that all efforts should be made by the international community to improve the living conditions of the people of East Timor and to guarantee to this people the effective enjoyment of their fundamental human rights,

1. Requests the Secretary-General to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned, with a view to exploring avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem,
2. Requests the Special Committee (on Decolonization) to keep the situation in the Territory under active consideration and to render all assistance to the Secretary-General with a view to facilitating the implementation of the present resolution,
3. Calls upon all specialised agencies and other organisations of the United Nations system (...), immediately to assist, within their respective fields of competence, the people of East Timor, in close consultation with Portugal, as the administering Power".

(Adopted by 50 votes to 46, with 50 abstentions)

The talks which were, at that time, in progress under the auspices of the Secretary-General between Portugal, as the legal administering power of its former colony, and Indonesia as the occupying power, have finally (June 1991) come to an agreement in principle, that a visit to East Timor by Portuguese parliamentary delegation should take place this year.

A visit on the part of the legitimate administering power, organized by the occupying power, is obviously not without some contradictions. It is also an indication of the impasse which been have allowed to come about through the passivity of the major world powers; those same who sprang precipitately into action in the case of Kuwait.

Mr Perez de Cuellar told a group of "Parliamentarians for East Timor" (March 1991) that the case of East Timor is analogous to those of Namibia and Western Sahara but that Indonesia would not accept a referendum.

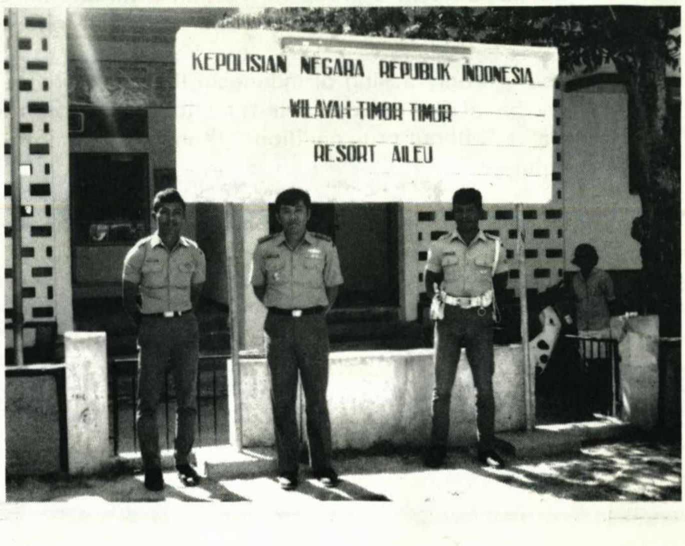
The Timorese are only asking of Indonesia that it recognise a right which has already been recognised as justly theirs by the UN. They have insisted on their right to decide for themselves about their future (Mgr Belo) and to this end to be involved in talks "without pre-conditions" (Xanana Gusmao).
Indonesia refuses.

The International Comunity, if it was disposed, could at the very least bring pressure to bear on the Indonesian government. As long as it continues not to do so then in East Timor, as their bishop wrote to Mr Perez de Cuellar:

"we are dying as a people and as a nation"

"At the quayside in Dili the giant tank-landing ship, Teluk Bone, closed its huge bow doors and slowly pulled away, watched by a few Indonesian women and a silent crowd of watching Timorese. The next day a sister ship, whose signal lamp had been winking across the harbour the previous night, docked with fresh troops for battle. In the highly militarised town Indonesian forces buzz about in heavy trucks and smart British Land-Rovers, occupying scores of barracks and private houses. In other unmarked houses a growing number of civilian prisoners are detained and tortured, common practice since 1975. Indonesian torturers have, so to speak, carved a niche for themselves in refined use of the razor on human flesh. As we parted Aurelio said: 'If we resist they kill us. If we don't resist they still kill us. So we might as well resist'."

(Hugh O'Shaughnessy,
'The Observer'- London, 7/4/1991)



DIALOGUE FOR PEACE

A solution to the problem of East Timor should identify with peace. (...) True and lasting peace will only be possible if the wish of the Maubere people is heard.

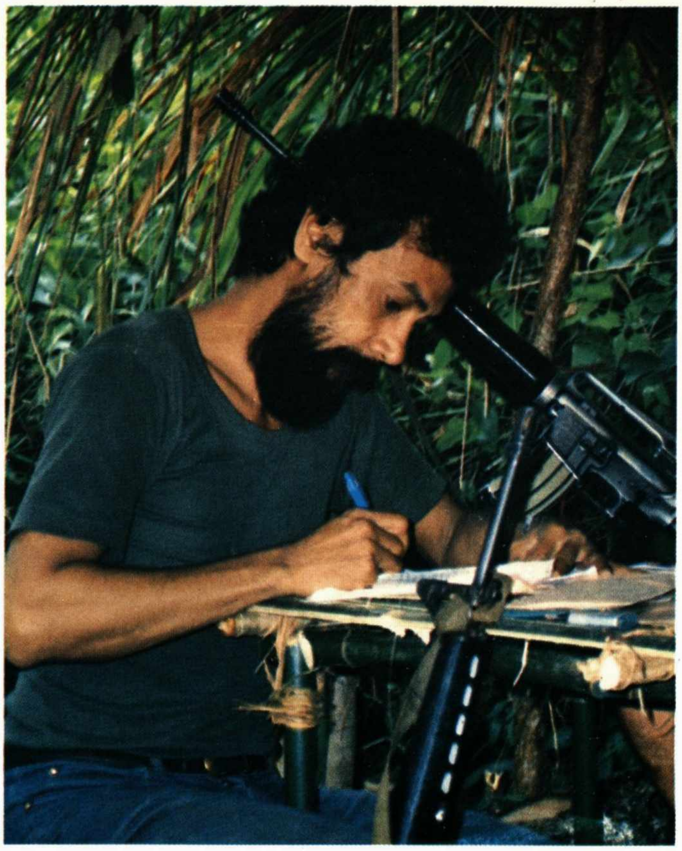
As head of the Church in East Timor, Mgr. Ximenes Belo has already spoken on the subject of a referendum, through which the will of the Maubere people would be heard.

Holding a referendum presupposes:

1. before all else, an end to hostilities
2. the adoption of international juridical mechanisms to check and control the process and make it viable.
3. respect for the supreme wishes of the people of East Timor, as freely and democratically expressed.

(...) In order to eradicate any still lingering doubts, we add that should the Maubere people 'reaffirm' their desire for integration with Indonesia, then we the guerrillas of the FALINTIL would unhesitatingly lay down our arms without delay. (...) Just as the UN Secretary General proposed a referendum for Western Sahara to Morocco and the Polisario Front, we believe that the same formula should be considered neither unheard of nor impossible for East Timor.

(...) If a fair solution should identify with peace, true and lasting peace should be a corollary to frank and serious dialogue. We are not demanding any absurd solutions from the world, neither we are seeking any solution which might compromise the UN Charter. We are only demanding adherence to the rules laid down by the Community of Nations, and respect for the universal principles which gave rise to the UN.



Xanana Gusmao

PEACE PLAN

1. The premise for the talks, directed by the UN Secretary General, to be as follows:
   - illegality of the Indonesian invasion
   - the Maubere people's inalienable right to a true act of self-determination
   - the urgent need for restoration of international legality by way of Portugal's presence.
2. The following points must be discussed with the participation of the Maubere people's representatives:
   a. The guarantees undertaken by Portugal with a view to ensuring regional stability.
      - East Timor's commitments with regard to the interests of its neighbouring countries and its role in maintaining peace and stability in the region.
      - A basic agreement of principles on the means of sharing out Timor's sea bed wealth.

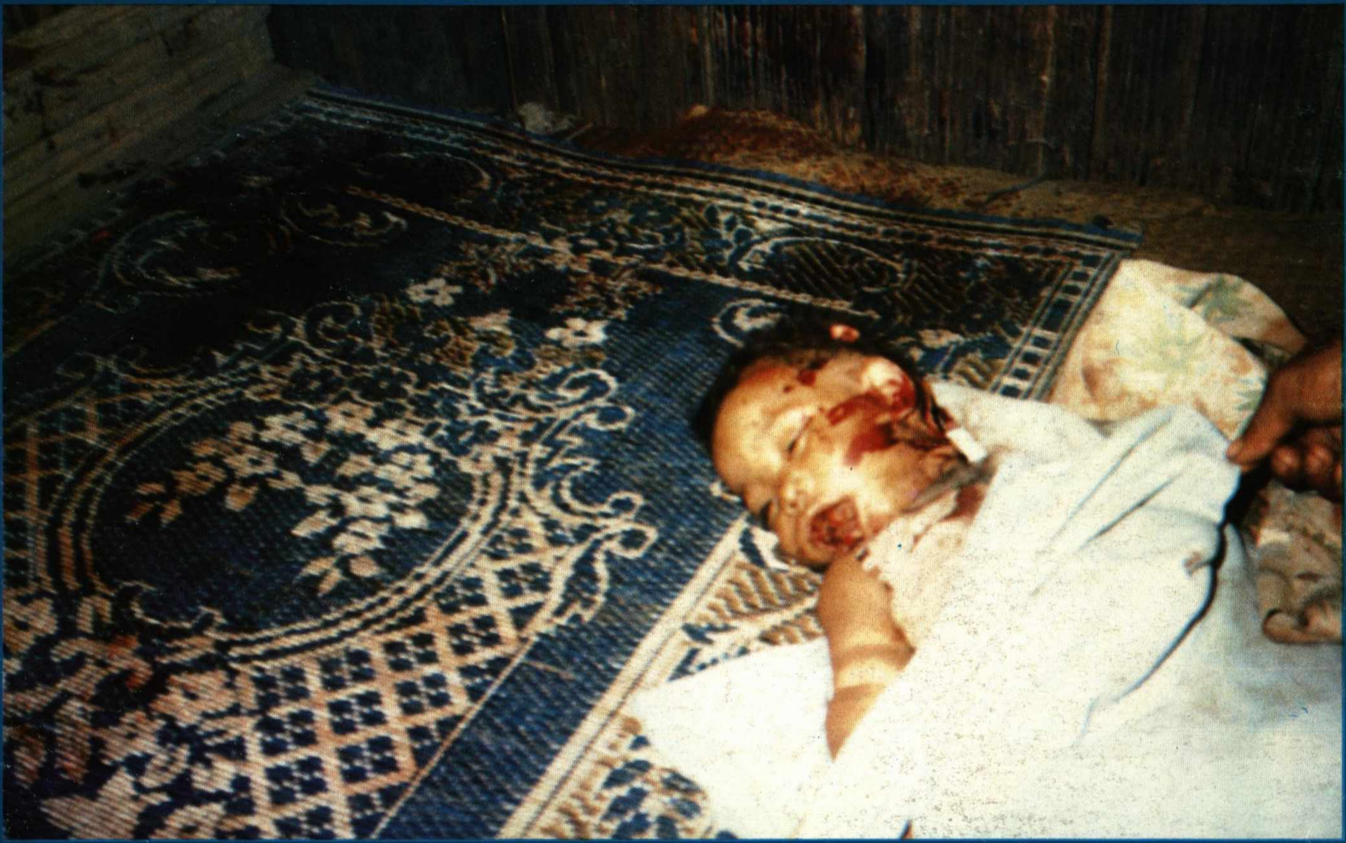
   b. The constitution of a peace force, or an international force, or (should the latter be too costly for the UN) even a UN Commission to verify and render viable:
      1) military reorganisation
         - *in the 1st phase* - the withdrawal of Indonesia's Armed Forces over a period of between 3 to 6 months, and the return of the Indonesian civilians over a period as yet to be determined;
         - *in the 2nd phase* - simultaneous disarming of natives armed by the occupier and FALINTIL guerrillas; the latter would stay in the mountains until this moment;
         - *in the 3rd phase* - the reorganisation of the Army, under Portuguese responsibility, as decolonising power;

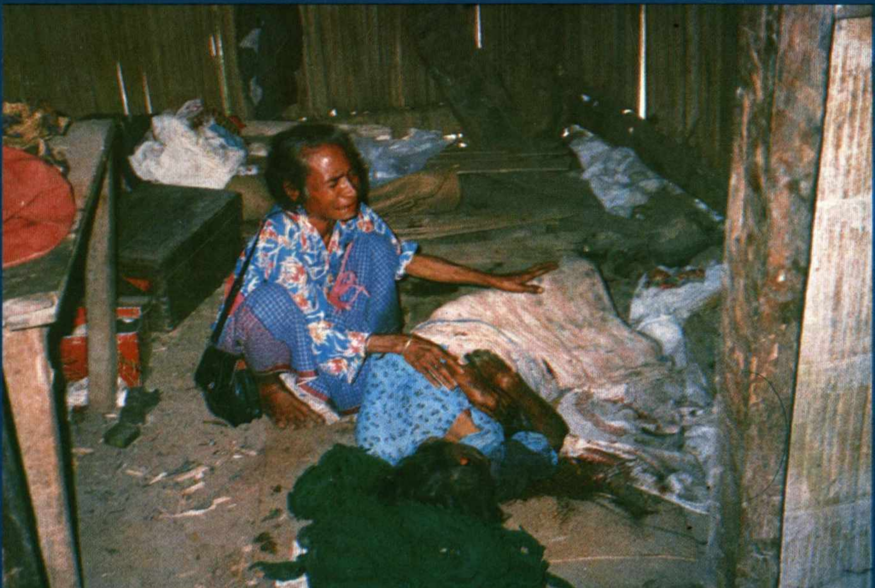
      2) the setting up of a transitional administration headed by High Commissioner, representing Portugal, for a maximum period of 5 years. It would be during this time that Portugal and East Timor would set a date for general elections and the handing over of sovereignty to the representatives of the Maubere people.
      3) during this transition period, under Portugal's responsibility, agreement on cooperation with Indonesia, Australia, the EEC and other countries will be established with a view to ensuring quick and harmonious development of East Timor's potential;
      4) formation of a National Unity Government for a period of between 5 and 15 years to be set between Portugal and the representatives of East Timor.

It is frank and serious dialogue that can lead to the commitments necessary to safeguard the interests of each and of all in general, because the people of East Timor know they are not without obligations towards the surrounding area and they will not abdicate from making their contribution towards harmony, cooperation and understanding with their neighbours.

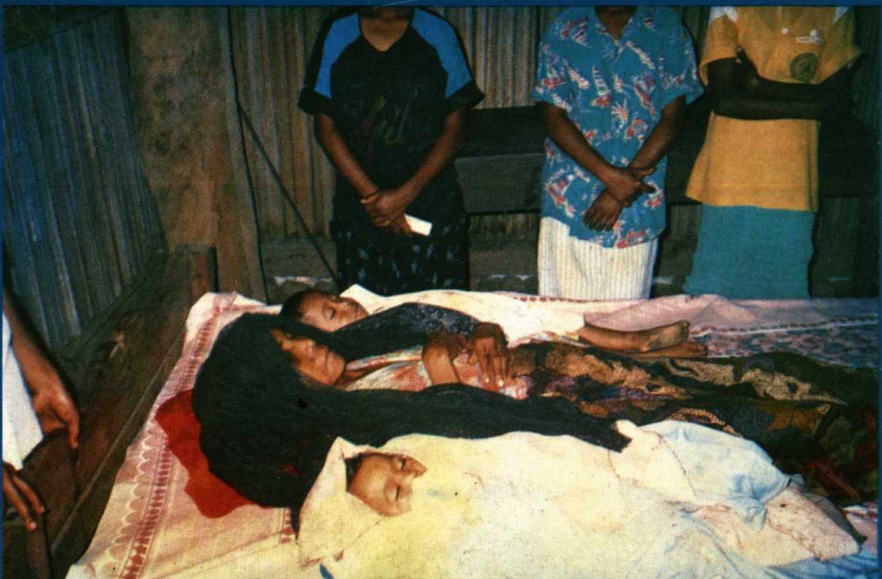
East Timor, October 1989

- XANANA GUSMAO
- Commander of Falintil





A woman and her two children who were shot in their home because her husband and father had rejoined the armed resistance. Their names have not been given because of fear of reprisals.



Compiled and Edited by

a paz é possivel
em **timor-leste**